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A Journal of Opinion

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Railway Wages Stay Up

The Emergency Fact-Finding Board on the railway-wage dispute, in reporting against the 15-percent wage cut desired by the roads, made what seems to us both a just and a wise choice. Railway wages are not comparatively high. To reduce them would not solve the railways' difficulties, for, as the Board declared, some of the savings would go to swell the profits of companies that are already doing fairly well, while the necessitous roads would not receive enough relief. A wage reduction of this magnitude would also be poor policy at this time, since it might be imitated in other industries. This may have been in the minds of the Board members when they said that the reduction would run counter to the trend. If the cut is considered as an emergency measure, it is out of place because revival is now proceeding. If we are thinking of a more permanent solution, other remedies are certainly to be preferred. Judge Stacy, Harry A. Millis and James M. Landis were well equipped for their job. The railway managements may now, under the law, try to enforce the reduction, but the resulting strike would certainly be laid at their doors. The law—which does not compel acceptance of arbitration decisions, but provides plenty of time for mediation and investigation—seems again to have worked well.

Scared

The disturbance caused by Orson Welles's radio production of H. G. Wells's early novel, "The War of the Worlds," suggests a great many reflections. Among them are that the author, the producer and the actors have received a tribute to their talents never before enjoyed by anybody in the theatre, that there are a lot of people who are very much afraid and are ready to join a panic at a moment's notice, that the radio public is much larger and far more gullible than the literate public. One of the most interesting aspects of the affair was that, in the presence of all this fear and angry reaction, nobody in authority, whether in the broadcasting industry or the government, dared to hint what a gargantuan joke the whole episode turned out to be. Little people scurrying in all directions from imaginary fear, if one can forget for a moment how universal and troublesome irrational terror is, offers a spectacle fit for laughter of the gods.

The Proof of the Decision

Judge Clark has handed down his decision in the case brought by the CIO and the American Civil Liberties Union against Mayor Hague and his Jersey City regime. On the whole it is a welcome judgment; Hague is restrained from any further deportation of speakers or organizers he doesn't happen to like, and from prohibiting the distribution of leaflets. The plaintiffs are granted the right to address public meetings in the parks of Jersey City and to display placards. Judge Clark, however, in the wording of the decision, inserted so many "if" and "but" clauses of qualification that we cannot be sure his judgment will bring about any substantial improvement in Jersey City's civil liberties. The public parks may be used as meeting places, but only provided the city does not want to use

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them at the same time for "recreational" purposes. The Judge recommends a modified form of censorship for political speeches. If a speaker's previous audiences have "indulged in breaches of the peace" (whether or not the speech was the cause of the disorder), the police may demand a copy of the address in advance and censor it as they see fit, or else require the speaker to furnish bond that peace will be maintained. Leaflets may be distributed, provided they are of the "innocuous" sort that were presented at the trial. And this is another matter for the discretion of Jersey City officials. The proof of this decision will be in the way it is interpreted and applied. Hague has publicly boasted that there will be no let-up in the persecution of "Reds" in his precincts. A possible test case, decided after the decision but before the injunction became effective, has already occurred. Roger Baldwin, director of the ACLU, has applied for a permit to speak at Pershing Field, Jersey City. The application was denied.

Strong Ecclesiastical Language

A recent issue of America, a Catholic weekly, contains an editorial on the Americans who fought in Spain for the Loyalist cause. The editors say: "Most of the 3,200 Americans [who volunteered] were Jewish and foreign-born riff-raff Americans; a small percentage were respectable citizens." Laying aside all other implications of this remarkable sentence, we should like to observe that there are many thousands of foreign-born Catholics in the United States who are just as respectable as anybody else—as respectable, certainly, as Father Francis X. Talbot, and his fellow editors of America. We feel that he owes them an explanation. A psychologist might suggest that the violence of language in this case conceals an inward doubt on the part of the writer, perhaps an inward, unconscious conviction that the truth is contrary to what is said.

Fifteen Who Should Be Saved

Whatever your political opinions, you can hardly fail to respect the men from other countries who went to Spain to fight for the Loyalists. These men gave up everything to participate in a struggle on behalf of what they considered the imperiled idea of liberty. Many of them died for their cause and every one of them risked the same fate. Fifteen of these veterans, returning to this country, are now being held on Ellis Island for deportation to various European nations. All of them enlisted from America; all of them had previously lived here, in most cases from eight to twenty-four years. Several have American families. Because they had not taken out citizenship papers, they are threatened with deportation to the countries of their birth, Germany, Italy, Greece, Esthonia and Yugoslavia. In most of these countries men who fought for freedom in Spain are subject to imprisonment, torture and death. Under the law, Secretary Perkins has the right to intervene in their cases and prevent their being sent to the Fascist countries. It seems to us unthinkable, in the circumstances, that she should not exercise this right. Our readers can help if they will write to Miss Perkins urging her to permit these men to become Americans again. They have more spiritual affinity for the old American ideals than many a top-hatted Tory descendant of the Founding Fathers.

The Elephant Changes His Spots

A few weeks ago the Republicans in Oregon noticed that while they had been blasting away at Roosevelt in the two years since 1936, Republican registration in the state had declined by 7,000 and the Democrats had gained 21,000. This called for a sudden shift in policy. Charles Sprague, the Republican gubernatorial nominee, began praising the great humanitarian in the White House. He also advocated strengthening the public-power laws, and came out flatly against the initiative measure to restrict labor unions. All three Republican congressional candidates in the state endorsed the Townsend Plan, and the Republican nominee for the United States Senate launched a series of public-ownership speeches. All along the Columbia River, in the Pacific Northwest section, the Republicans are attempting to outdo the New Deal. Sprague's speeches in Oregon are actually as liberal as those of his New Deal adversary, Henry Hess. Hamilton, Frank and Hoover have strange followers indeed. Or perhaps this new brand of Republicans has strange leaders.

Labor Note

The manufacturing plant of Decca Records, Inc., was struck October 28 by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, and outside of the fact that it looks like a winning strike, the cheering aspects are these: Decca was the last of the three recording companies in this country to meet union demands for improvement of conditions—which in this case were notorious (the State Board of Health has had to step in and the work week in some cases runs over fifty-four hours). In addition to dealers and bandleaders here and there, three A. F. of L. locals, the Musicians', the Teamsters', the Building Service Employees', are cooperating with the CIO union in tying up the Decca plant—the last two by refusing all service. And since Decca was so kind as to record the tunes of the "Pins and Needles" show some time back, there is more fun than usual on the picket line, featuring such prides and joys of the Decca list as "It's Not Cricket to Picket" and "One Big Union for Two."

Is Hitler Crazy?

One of the commonest observations in public conversation nowadays is the remark that Hitler is mentally unsound. A group of well known American authorities, recently consulted by Science Service, on

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the whole agreed with this popular verdict. Dr. Karl A. Menninger, while reluctant, as were the others who were asked, to diagnose an individual from a distance, remarked:

> For many years psychiatrists have recognized the existence of a form of mental disease characterized by enormous ambitiousness, ideas of grandeur, absurd theories of origin or mission, unshakable convictions that other people are the aggressors, the persecutors, often combined with considerable ability to inspire others to believe these things, however fantastic, however dangerous.
>
> Under ordinary circumstances, such individuals are committed to institutions or disregarded as cranks. Given a sufficiently inflammable society, they may become religious or military leaders. . . .

Dr. A. A. Brill says that "Hitler is a psychopathic paranoid personality whose sole need is hatred. All his actions are dominated by this sadistic *leit-motif*. His hatred for Jews and his love for Germans are mere excuses for his algolagnia, *i.e.*, for his pleasure in pain."

Dr. Harold Lasswell observes that "Hitler suffers from frequent attacks of melancholy and gives way to weeping fits. These neurotic symptoms appear in personalities who must struggle against impulses toward passivity and effeminacy. After Hitler gives in to these weaknesses, he is driven to preserve his self-respect by daring and spectacular displays."

A similar opinion was held by Dr. Oscar Raeder, who noted that "Hitler is an infantile personality. His temper tantrums, his weeping and similar emotional manifestations under stress are childhood fixations. He is amoral and probably sadistic." Dr. Gregory Zilboorg speaks of him as one of the "compulsive neurotics who weep while murdering and murder while weeping. His masochistic inner conflict as an individual is fully reflected in his public life."

It should not be rashly assumed that Hitler is on the verge of a collapse, or that the German people will soon become conscious of his abnormalities and drive him from his place. On the contrary, his temperament contains a great deal of shrewdness, exemplified in his dealings both with his own people and with the statesmen of other countries whom he has consistently outbluffed, outthought and caught off their guard again and again. Assuming that the suggestions of the experts are correct, the conclusion must be drawn that Hitler is a far greater menace to the world than a more sane and rational individual would be.

Those "Permanent Reliefers"

It is a common theory of enemies of the New Deal that the roster of those on work relief consists of millions of people who have been there for years and intend to remain forever. How false is this theory is shown by a report just issued on WPA employment in August. During that month, 195,000 persons left the WPA, every one of whom had been certified as in need of relief when he was first taken on. Of those who left, nearly 55,000 said they had obtained jobs in private industry. No statement as to future plans is required of those leaving the WPA, but it is believed that out of 75,000 others who volunteered no explanation, a majority had also obtained private employment. Of the total number, fewer than 10,000 went to other federal work-relief projects. While these 195,000 persons were leaving, slightly more than 300,000 others were being added to the lists. Of these more than one-half had never previously been employed by the WPA. The picture of the situation commonly painted by the Tories is a cruel falsehood. The overwhelming majority of those on relief leave it the moment they can get anything else to do; the turnover is continuous, and the agency serves today, just as it did when it was founded, to relieve thousands of cases of desperate need.

News Notes of a Week

With Hankow and Canton fallen, China's principal access to the Pacific and to Western arms and munitions was cut off. The only way the Nationalist armies can get supplies is through the roads that lead from French Indo-China, British Burma and Soviet Russia. In Paris the Japanese Ambassador protested against the transportation of war materials through Indo-China, the most important of course of the three. . . . While Japan was complaining to France in Paris, the United States complained to Japan in Tokyo. Our strong note said Japan was monopolizing China's commercial opportunities by establishing dummy companies, by manipulating the exchange to the detriment of American business men and by interfering with their travel and mails. . . . Any doubt about who is the master of Europe was dispelled when Germany announced that she would be the sole arbiter (with Italy tagging along behind) of the Czechoslovakia-Hungary minorities dispute. The fact that Great Britain, France and Poland were not even invited to discuss the matter suggests the value of their guarantees of the new Czech boundaries. . . . In France the Radical Socialist Party, now supporting its leader, Premier Daladier, broke from its former Communist allies and put an end to the Popular Front. Daladier prepared to find new friends on the Center and Right and to formulate a series of decrees setting up a dictatorial, "steered" economy.

The Dies Committee's smearing of Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan on the eve of the election brought immediate response from President Roosevelt, who charged the committee to investigate un-Americanism with being used in an un-American way itself. . . . The President also struck at Pennsylvania Republicans who were explaining that his failure to endorse Governor Earle represented the President's unwillingness to "put his hands in that muddy water." Roosevelt's answer was to endorse Earle's "liberal program for social and economic justice."

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Next for Our Defense

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S short talk to The New York Herald Tribune forum contains a number of phrases that are likely to be quoted for a long time to come, not only because they are tersely and strongly worded, but because they express beliefs almost universally held among the American people: "Peace by fear has no higher or more enduring quality than peace by the sword." "There can be no peace if national policy adopts as a deliberate instrument the threat of war." "There can be no peace if humble men and women are not free to think their own thoughts, to express their own feelings, to worship God." The condemnation of devoting precious resources to armament competition, combined with the expressed intention to continue arming as long as others do so, will meet with widespread approval. "We must be prepared to meet with success any application of force against us." Moreover, "we are determined to use every endeavor in order that the Western Hemisphere may work out its own salvation in the light of its own interrelated experience."

This amounts to a solemn announcement that we are prepared to use force, if necessary, to repel Nazi or Fascist or Japanese aggression in the Americas.

Agreeing as we do with Mr. Roosevelt's words, we cannot refrain from pointing out as vigorously as we know how that a policy of his own administration has helped mightily the tendency toward fascism in Latin America, and that a reversal of that policy might do more to effectuate the aims of his declaration than the building of half a dozen battleships.

Culturally and even politically, the influence of Spain is powerful in Latin America. The conquests of totalitarianism are fully as much the consequence of the penetration by culture and prestige as they are the expression of military force or economic pressure. If Spain remains republican, democratic and progressive, it will be far easier to weld together the Americas in coöperation to resist fascism. If Franco wins in Spain, both Mussolini and Hitler will have a power line of high voltage to connect them with our Latin American neighbors. Yet the United States has been and still is conniving at the victory of Franco by applying an embargo against the export of military supplies to the Spanish belligerents, while the insurgents are being plentifully equipped from Italy and Germany.

Why should this country continue to assent to Chamberlain's disastrous policy of surrender, now that our own interests are so closely at stake? A critical moment is at hand. The final step in the betrayal of the Loyalists is about to be taken. It is expected that now, after Mussolini has completed his "token" withdrawal of Italian troops, the British-Italian agreement will come into effect, Franco will be granted the status of a belligerent, and Germany and Italy will be permitted to ensure his victory, while all English or French imports to the Barcelona government will be forbidden in view of the expected legalization of the insurgent blockade.

A lifting of our embargo, coupled with an assurance that we did not intend to recognize Franco's government or grant belligerent rights to him, would put almost insuperable obstacles in the way of the reported plan. It would also give support to the British and French opponents of the Spanish policy of Chamberlain and Daladier. This step should have been taken last spring, when Congress would probably have ended the embargo but for the intervention of the State Department. Even now the step might easily reverse the whole course of events.

It may be asked what the President can do at the moment, since his hands are tied by the congressional resolution which established the embargo, and Congress is not in session. Action after January, when it convenes, would probably be too late. Nevertheless if Mr. Roosevelt should recommend to Congress the repeal of the embargo resolution, there is little doubt that his advice would be followed. And if an intention to do so were revealed now, the Chamberlain-Daladier plans to starve out the Loyalists would be punctured like a toy balloon. A presidential statement on the question would probably serve the purpose. If that were not thought advisable, even a quiet word dropped in London and Paris might help.

Action of this kind would not, as we have repeatedly explained, imperil the Neutrality Act or its application in case of international war. The embargo on arms in *civil* wars was an afterthought. As far as the Neutrality Act goes, its application is purely discretionary with the President. What really compels him to forbid the export of arms to Spain is a special resolution, unconnected with the Neutrality Act, and passed at his own urgent request. If he really is resolved to preserve Latin America from fascism, his first duty is to call for the repeal of this resolution. Saving democracy in Spain is an essential preliminary to saving it on this continent.

Senator Wagner on the NLRB

WE PRINT BELOW a statement by United States Senator Robert F. Wagner on the National Labor Relations Act, which he sponsored. We do this because it is one of the best brief statements on this subject we have ever seen, and because many of our readers might have had no opportunity to see it. Senator Wagner, who is a candidate in this year's election to succeed himself, wrote it in reply to a series of questions framed and put to him by The New York Times:

"Do Mr. Wagner and Mr. Mead, Mr. O'Brian and Mr. Corsi think that the National Labor Relations Act

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in its present form provides a sound basis for good industrial relations in this country, or recognizing the necessity of preserving legislation which will ensure to American labor the right to collective bargaining, do they favor amendment of the present law in order to make it a broader and less partisan measure?"

"Regarding the basic principles and objectives of the National Labor Relations Act, Mr. O'Brian states that he approves them and that he desires 'to see collective bargaining firmly established and uniformly recognized.'

"Mr. O'Brian claims that 'in its three years of actual operation' the Labor Act has increased industrial strife.

"As a distinguished member of the bar Mr. O'Brian knows that for two years after the Labor Act was passed in 1935, eminent lawyers counseled their clients that the law was unconstitutional. The law was openly violated and flagrantly defied, with consequent bitterness and laceration of feelings, until in April, 1937, the United States Supreme Court sustained the Labor Act.

"Our actual experience with the effective administration of the act begins, therefore, in April, 1937. This experience was reinforced by belief that the fair principles of the Labor Act are the foundations for industrial peace. During the first nine months of 1938 less time has been lost because of strikes than in any comparable period since 1931.

"The sit-down strike, which Mr. O'Brian with calculated sophistry attributes to the Labor Act, has practically gone out of existence since the law was held constitutional and thus given a chance to exert its pacific influence.

"Mr. O'Brian states that the system of procedure for hearing and disposing of cases written into the Labor Act is, 'on its face, one-sided, unfair and un-American.'

"The Supreme Court of the United States disagrees with him, flatly and completely. Mr. Chief Justice Hughes, writing for the Court after five cases involving the Labor Act had been heard, said:

"'We construe the procedural provisions as affording adequate opportunity to secure judicial protection against arbitrary action in accordance with the well settled rules applicable to administration agencies set up by Congress to aid in the enforcement of valid legislation.'

"It must be remembered that the Labor Board has no power to enforce its orders. Before any decision of the Board becomes enforceable it must apply to the Circuit Court of Appeals. Even on questions of fact the Board's findings are not conclusive and may be set aside if they are not supported by 'substantial evidence.'

"In all of the thirteen cases involving the Labor Act which have been decided by the United States Supreme Court, after argument by the ablest members of the bar, the procedure used by the Board was found fair and adequate.

"Indeed, Mr. O'Brian's argument that the Labor Act is 'un-American' because it unites investigatory and quasi-judicial functions in one agency could not have impressed the Supreme Court, and it is hard to see how so strong a statement could have been made by any lawyer.

"It is, of course, possible that special factors involved in labor relations make this traditional method unsatisfactory and require the substitution of a new and untried procedure.

"Whether this is so cannot be determined by abstract guesswork, but only by close and scientific analysis of actual experience combined with a thorough grasp of the traditional techniques of administrative law. No such analysis has yet been made, and in view of the brevity of the Board's history as an effective agency sanctioned by the courts, no such analysis could yet have been made.

"The matter should have the close study of experts and of the representatives of industry, labor and government. It is receiving mine.

"The National Labor Relations Act was not approved until Congress had heard and carefully weighed the testimony of every party who might assert a valid interest.

"In fairness to industry, labor and the public, changes in the law, if any, should be made with the same care and deliberation.

"The comment that the law is 'one-sided' is, therefore, completely without substance or merit.

"As the author of the Labor Act, I have naturally been interested in every proposal to improve it. I have never maintained that it was perfect, but, on the contrary, have assumed that experience would point the way to betterment."

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Catholics and Fascists

TOLERANT, OPEN-MINDED, LIBERAL American non-Catholics—and perhaps many Catholics of the same mental stratum—have found it more and more difficult recently to understand the politics and policies of the most powerful of all Internationales, the Catholic hierarchy. This is because of the paradoxes, inconsistencies and, at times, either the stupidity or incredible callousness of some of its representatives who have condoned the murder of civilians, propagandized for war and violated what the world believes to be the accepted ethics of Christianity. As, for example, Father Joseph F. Thorning, S.J., defending the massacres at Barcelona on the ground that "the day of the non-combatant has passed."

The Spanish war is the direct cause of the present suspicion. The evidence that comes not only from news reports but from the actions and admissions of the Church and its representatives has led Catholic and non-Catholic alike to the conclusion that the Vatican has married itself to the ultimate (and most violent) form of reaction, namely, fascism. Thus the British Catholic historian Teeling writes that "there are moments when one feels that the Vatican has gone entirely fascist," and great Catholic writers (including Mauriac among others) deplore the fact that for millions of the Pope's devout followers "Christianity and fascism now mean the same thing."

In America non-Catholic opinion was best expressed by the letter attacking the position of the Catholic hierarchy toward the Spanish war signed by a hundred and fifty Protestant educators, laymen and clergymen who accused the Spanish clergy of open hostility toward popular government, freedom of religion, separation of Church from State, and of being "the apologists for reaction and fascism." Incidentally the failure of American Catholics to protest the stand of the Spanish hierarchy was emphasized by the Protestant leaders and resulted in a reply calling them "misinformed" and "hoodwinked."

More recently, however, leading Catholics themselves have begun to discuss the apparent fascist trends in their church. The charge is "most unpleasant," according to James A. Magner, writing in The Commonweal. But from his article I summarize seven bases he has found for this most unpleasant charge: (1) authoritarianism; (2) the attack on communism; (3) recognition of Franco; (4) friendly relations with Mussolini; (5) the Pope's continued appeal to the German concordat; (6) the Vatican's satisfaction with Corporate Portugal and Austria; (7) diplomatic relations with dictators.

Another Catholic (J. J. Lyons), writing to the press to deny that "the Catholics, under the influence of the Church, are the advance agents of fascism," lists eight reasons for this accusation—to wit: (1) support for the Ethiopian invasion; (2) conspiracy to overthrow the Spanish government and support the Italian, Nazi and Moorish invasion; (3) the aid to Hitler by Cardinal Innitzer; (4) Father Coughlin's fascist activities; (5) Catholic Church aid to Duplessis' Canadian semi-fascism; (6) Catholic organizations' support of corrupt politicians like Mayor Hague; (7) the attack on liberal and progressive figures by organizations like the Catholic Truth Society, and (8) the antagonism to labor.

Messrs. Magner and Lyons deny all fifteen charges: Mr. Magner quotes Lord Acton's dictum that the Church is "the irreconcilable enemy of the despotism of the State"; he asks readers to distinguish between the Church and Vatican policies which he admits in practice are generally united in purpose; he defends the recognition of Franco, claiming this does not recognize the righteousness of his cause; and concludes that "it is true the Church has not explicitly named or condemned fascism." Mr. Lyons says well informed persons know that some influential Catholics are guilty of his eight charges, but "the vast majority of the 21,000,000 Catholics have been active in progressive democratic movements . . . have even fought on the side of Loyalist Spain and are among the most ardent upholders of the liberal American traditions." He urges anti-Fascist Catholics to publicize that fact as he has done.

It is of course the political policy of the Vatican in the Spanish war which has brought the fascist problem to American Catholics. They had only a suspicion of pro-fascism in 1929, when Mussolini and the Pope signed their treaty. In 1935, when many bishops and at least one cardinal blessed the Black Shirts who were about to loose poison gas on innocent unarmed Ethiopian Christians and bomb Red Cross hospitals and massacre civilians, few Americans accused the Church of playing the Fascist game, but many Europeans did.

Since July, 1936, Catholic actions in European politics, in American politics, in labor struggles everywhere, in conflicts between super-patriots and liberals, in the exercise of arbitrary censorship, in the terrific use of mass pressure against progressive and liberal ideas and movements, in intimidation of magazines and newspapers, in boycotts, in threats uttered from the pulpits, have resulted not merely in considerable questioning of policies among Catholics but growing resentment among non-Catholics in America. These are facts which cannot be denied.

Where there is no resentment there is at least open-minded wonder how and why this church, founded to

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free the poor and oppressed and still appealing in all lands largely to the exploited, the lower classes, the proletariat, should make it its policy—in Mexico, in Italy, in Austria, to some extent in America and most notoriously in Spain, to coöperate with dictators, Bourbons, economic royalists, the men of big business, the aristocracy, the militarists—in short, the forces that are the enemies of labor and of the progressive liberation of the people. Catholic apologists may deny there is a legitimate cause for either wonder or resentment, but the thunder of the cannon of that notable Catholic leader, Dollfuss, against the homes and bodies of Vienna workmen will be heard a long time in history. And who can deny that all the labor-union members in Spain (more than 5,000,000, largely Catholics) are fighting that same General Franco whom Cardinal Goma calls a "soldier of Christ," the "leader of a Christian crusade," whom the Pope has blessed and whom labor throughout the world has cursed?

In all lands the record appears to justify the charge which Catholic notables themselves have discovered: that their church is united with fascism. I say appears, because it is my intention after reviewing the record, to explain Vatican policy and to show that there is also an opposition movement of importance.

In Spain of course there is no quibble, doubt or ambiguity about Vatican policy. The Vatican is for Franco because Franco is for the Vatican. Other reasons are open to question. It is not true that the Loyalists are atheists and communists. To charge the Loyalist government with the murder of priests and nuns is to utter a falsehood. No one denies the mob killings of the first weeks of the war before the government raised a police force and restored order. On the other hand there is undisputed Catholic evidence that Franco has massacred ten or a hundred times as many practising Roman Catholics as have met death by violence on the Loyalist side. The real reason for Vatican policy has been expressed every day since 1931. The Church supported the politicians, notably Robles, who promised its restoration legally, and now supports Franco, who promises to do so by bloodshed. But Franco also admits his fascism: in two signed statements he promises a totalitarian corporative state on the Hitler-Mussolini model with Spanish trimmings. (In interviews with journalists from republican lands he throws in vague promises of democracy.) Therefore, Teeling admits that Franco wants a totalitarian state and adds that "once again the Vatican diplomacy seems to have landed itself in a particularly difficult situation, and once more to have been maneuvered into a position that labels it Fascist and pro-totalitarian. . . ."

In Fascist Italy only a few weeks ago occurred another of the frequent crises between the Pope and Mussolini, when each expressed a complete denial of the ideology and political policy of the other, proving again that the positions of 1929 and 1931 (when Fascists burned the Pope's pictures) remain irreconcilable. Fascist state and educational policies are the antithesis of Catholic policies, will always be so, and yet the Pope continues to further the ambitions of the Fascist Duce. His failure to take a stand during the Ethiopian massacres endeared him to the Fascist bureaucracy. The Vatican's pressure on South American Catholic nations to vote for the lifting of the League's sanctions on Italy seemed a total surrender of the Church to Mussolini.

The Vatican's policy toward the Japanese form of of fascism is extremely interesting—and shocking, to Americans. The reader may remember the alarming headlines of October 14 and 15, 1937, over an Associated Press story quoting "a reliable Vatican source" saying that the Holy See, in carrying out the Catholic Church's worldwide campaign against bolshevism, had "instructed its hierarchy and missions in the Far East to coöperate with Japanese action in China." Most likely the information came from the Vatican's Monsignor Pucci, who for decades has been the American journalistic corps' informer on Catholic policy. The dispatch quoted the Vatican source, saying the memorandum promises "to give Japanese military authorities the clear impression that on the part of the Catholic Church there is no obstacle to complete collaboration."

This statement was denied immediately in Rome. But not in Tokyo. The Associated Press not only reaffirmed the absolute truth of its story but revealed the fact it had asked for and received complete verification before sending out the original. It is also interesting to note that a year earlier Teeling had written that "the feeling in China and in the Philippines amongst Catholic missioners has been that they will get a fair deal and freedom to push their religion should Japanese get control," and again, that "the Vatican is also intensely interested in the development of her relations with Japan in order to get control of the eventual development of Christianity in those parts of China which she believes will one day come under Japanese influences." And, of course, the Vatican can fight Russia best with Japan's help. Hitler and Mussolini know that very well.

Of the two nations organized on the Catholic Corporative Plan, Austria and Portugal, the former was founded in bloodshed and ended in bloodshed, and the latter must be judged by the tests of civilization: are the people better off materially; is culture progressing? The answer, in League of Nations and other unbiased reports, is that Portugal sinks lower and lower in standard of living annually, and civilization fails under fascism there as in all countries. Portugal boasts a balanced budget. But under a dictator who crosses himself many times a day the people are kept impoverished and in ignorance. More than half the population is illiterate and Salazar, replying to criticism, calls education one of "our enemies." Certainly neither Austria nor Portugal has been a credit to the Church.

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The whole panorama of Vatican activities, only roughly and partially sketched here, appears one of reaction, opportunism, Machiavellianism, which seem to justify liberal Catholic and non-Catholic supposition that the Church is a part of the Fascist Internationale.

But there is another side to this picture. It is the side which, the writer must state regretfully, one must go to Europe to see more plainly because neither its color, its outline nor its framework is visible here in America, the only great democracy where foreign Catholics expected the princes of the Church and notable laymen to express themselves with fairness and freedom, as they were accustomed to do in the past.

In France, for example, there is Cardinal Verdier. While the late Cardinal Hayes was praying daily for the victory of a man whom one might refrain from calling a bloody murderer but could never call a decent Christian, Cardinal Verdier was damning General Franco, first by warning French Catholics that "you must avoid partisan attitudes, have a scrupulous care for truth and justice," and again by his failure to follow the Pope in endorsing the Caudillo.

Cardinal Verdier's anti-Franco declaration—reprinted in only a few church publications in America—was the signal for many Catholics of good will to speak out, and Maritain, Mauriac, Duhamel and others have done so. M. Jacques Maritain, professor of Philosophy at the Institut Catholique, denies Cardinal Goma's "holy crusade" in Spain. Condemning the "cold," "systematic" sacrilege in the destruction of churches, he adds: "It is another sacrilege—religious in form—to dress Mohammedan soldiers with images of the Sacred Heart so that they may kill the sons of Christians in a holy way. . . ." He denounces Franco's massacre at Badajoz "in honor of the Feast of the Assumption" (which only American Catholics deny took place), and his most forcible condemnation is for Franco's "White Terror," with its "rare and singularly high level of cruelty and contempt for human existence."

With Cardinal Verdier and leading French intellectuals, the church press, notably La Croix, the leading daily, labor unions and other groups have joined the anti-Fascist forces. The Burgos press is full of criticism of French Catholics and especially of La Croix, the weekly L'Aube, and the Dominican organ, Sept, which is now reported to have been suppressed by the Dominicans as a result of internal dissension.

In England there are also frequent letters in the press and public statements from notable Catholics who are anti-Fascist. The Catholic press itself was severely criticized by Father F. N. Drinkwater, who, according to the Dominican organ, Blackfriars, has published a leaflet entitled "Some Reasons for Regretting the Attitude of Our Catholic Newspapers in Regard to the Spanish War." Father Drinkwater accuses the Catholic press of one-sidedness, propagandizing, lack of moderation, justice and charity, fanning the flames of hatred and revenge, suppressing the truth, suggesting the false, publishing atrocity stories without evidence and concealing from its readers "the fact that in all countries where freedom of expression exists (France, Belgium, the United States, etc.) there are Catholic groups and periodicals which do not accept the view that the insurrection is to be supported as a crusade for religion or even necessarily to be supported at all."

It is true that in Belgium the conservative organ of the Catholic Party, La Libre Belgique, has published numerous anti-Franco articles, including one from its correspondent, André Hoornaert, who found that Franco murders most of his prisoners, and it is true that throughout the Catholic world there is division on the question of the Vatican policy regarding fascism, but it is only when we come to the United States that we listen in vain for a voice like Cardinal Verdier's or Professor Maritain's, or the application to the almost solidly pro-Franco Catholic press of the strictures published in Blackfriars.

This is one of the paradoxes of the Catholic Church in America, that here where more democracy and individualism are said to exist, there is such fear and such conformity. Since Leo XIII issued his blast against "Americanism," few dare think independently and still fewer dare say anything—whereas in conventional old-Catholic Europe not only laymen but priests declare publicly that in politics, and notably in the Spanish war, and in all political Fascist matters, no Catholic need follow his priest, that all well intentioned Catholics have the right to support Loyalist democracy and fight against Franco. Church historians tell us its members are free men politically, yet all we get in America are a few declarations of "impartiality." Naturally the result is that reactionaries air their pro-Fascist views in pulpit and press and the Catholic public believes that the Church favors fascism everywhere.

Even among the Spanish clergy there are numerous priests outside the Basque country (where the majority were anti-Franco) who fight fascism, but outside of Rebel Spain Franco has no stancher supporters among the cardinals than the late archbishop of New York, who prayed for him, or the archbishop of Boston, who called him a Christian soldier. Two days after Franco's bombers killed 1,200 and wounded 2,000 civilians in Barcelona, Cardinal O'Connell said: "It is a lie. General Franco would not dare do a thing like that." Speaking for the collective hierarchy in the United States Cardinal Dougherty wrote a letter published in Burgos, which claims the Catholics of the world are united for Franco. Only one American cardinal speaks out against fascism. Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago warns America against "selfish employers of labor," the use of the red scare "to cover corrupt practices,"

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and Nazi tyranny in general, but he has not followed Verdier in refusing support for fascism in Spain.

Evidence of anti-fascism among Catholics in America therefore is largely negative. Thus, at the congress in Antigonish a well known reactionary priest asked an endorsement for Franco, which was refused. The history of the policy of The Commonweal, leading Catholic cultural organ, from Editor Shuster's criticism of Franco, to Editor Williams' fanatical support, and the present new policy of impartiality, is another instance.

In vain I have asked the friendly editors of The Catholic Worker to find one American priest or layman who has taken the stand of tens of thousands of foreign Catholics. There is not one. But in addition to the declaration of impartiality by The Commonweal and The Catholic Worker, there are The Catholic Register, organ of the Toronto diocese, which has endorsed Verdier, various Catholic papers which have republished the denunciation of aerial bombing uttered by Abbé Jacques Leclerq, the Voce del Popolo, edited by Monsignor Ciarrochi of Detroit, who has condemned Franco propaganda, and numerous similar small items. Also it must be noted that among the American journalists who have provided documentary evidence of Franco's atrocities and given the lie direct to those who call him a Christian, are three Catholics, Jay Allen, Lawrence Fernsworth and Edmond Taylor.

The editors of The Catholic Worker assure me that if it were not for the Spanish war and its religious problem, American priests and laymen would be more vocal and active in the anti-Fascist movement today because they believe that Catholic labor, the mass of Church membership, is generally progressive.

The plentiful evidence of anti-Fascist, anti-Franco activities in the Catholic world may not begin to satisfy those who see so much Vatican and Fascist coöperation. The mere reiteration that the policy is not Fascist is weak in comparison to contrary actions.

But there is a very old and all-embracing explanation of Vatican policy which appeared first in the Bible and which has been restated by many Popes. In the encyclical "Immortale Dei" is the paragraph: "Jesus Christ has Himself given command that what is Caesar's is to be rendered to Caesar, and that what belongs to God is to be rendered to God"; the great Leo XIII pointed out that the Church has never neglected to adapt itself to the genius of nations, and the present Pope, Pius XI, denying that the Church hampers political reforms, repeats in "Dilectissimi nobis" the policy of the Church "accommodating itself to all forms of government and civil institutions provided the rights of God and the Christian conscience are left intact." This explains Russia, Japan, Mexico and Spain. It has paid the Church to adapt itself to the policies of Fascist nations.

To the Church's critics this policy seems Machiavellian, the crudest form of opportunism, compromise raised to an exalted international place—or just the kind of politics which kings and dictators guided by egotism, greed or a power complex, instead of Christian morality, have been playing. To this charge the Church answers that all its acts are *sub specie aeternitatis;* the Vatican even admits mistakes—something a dictator must never do—but it plans to correct them and to act for the best, on the long road from today to eternity. It may be opportunism. It may be Machiavellian. But it is adapting the Church to the times, as it sees best. It may of course, *sub specie aeternitatis,* prove to be the biggest mistake the Vatican has made in centuries. But it is a temporary—temporal—policy. In the course of time fascism will disappear, but the Church, having made use of it for its own ends, will go on.

The well intentioned reader must not forget that the Pope is still a prisoner. His immediate predecessors were prisoners of the Italian state; the present Pope is the prisoner of Fascist ideology. Although the head of a free state, he cannot defy dictators, denounce their isms, formulate a new Christian doctrine against war at this time. Pius XI is also the prisoner of a twenty-year-old complex about bolshevism. When he was Papal Nuncio in Warsaw during the war with Russia he was terribly frightened by the Soviet onslaught, and he has been the No. 1 Red-baiter of the world ever since. He is willing to join with all Red-baiters, including Japan. For the Pope the choice in this world is apparently fascism or communism, not fascism or democracy, as the Popular Front movement in France and the war in Spain clearly indicate. In fact in one of the Spanish catechisms democracy, liberalism and bolshevism are equally condemned.

Many years ago Cardinal Manning said that "the future of Catholicism is in America." This prophecy becomes nearer a fact daily as bishoprics increase in the new world and the time nears when they will surpass those in the old. Financially America is the Church's chief supporter. But America is also the stronghold of democracy. So long as America remains democratic it must be anti-Fascist.

The Church says its policy is not fascism but admits an alliance with that ultimate form of reaction. Catholic writers explain the Church's relationship with reaction or fascism as a liaison. It is not a marriage. Therefore no divorce or annulment need follow, but the quick or slow dissolution of an opportunistic illicit temporary amour. Surely the American branch must realize that it must replace the present Fascist policy with one of militant democracy if the Catholic Church is to remain a spiritual home for its masses who also grow more progressive in free countries and who must eventually help to overthrow reaction in the totalitarian states.

GEORGE SELDES

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The Law of the Strachey Case

THE PURPOSE OF THIS ARTICLE is to explain the legal and political issue that appears to have arisen on the question of my exclusion from the United States.

The reader will be able to judge for himself whether or not a question of much greater scope and significance than that of what happens to me has been raised by the particular method which the State Department has chosen, or for all I know, drifted into, in its handling of my case.

I applied to a Vice-Consul at the United States Consulate in London for a temporary visitor's visa to the United States, for the purpose of conducting a lecture tour, on September 7 last. The visa was promptly granted me. I was asked the usual questions which are asked of all applicants, and I, of course, signed the usual declaration, which includes the statement that I had no intention of overthrowing the United States government by force and violence. I had decided to make application for a visa in good time, in case the Consulate in London should wish to consult with Washington before granting the visa. I felt that such consultation might be natural, in order to verify the fact that the deportation proceedings taken against me in 1935 had been dropped before my departure from the United States.

On the morning of October 5, just four hours before the boat-train left London for Southampton, and while I was busy packing my bags, I received a telephone call from the American Consulate asking me to call on them. I at once did so. I was interviewed by two gentlemen, one of whom was the Vice-Consul who originally granted me the visa, and another whose status I do not know. These gentlemen made it clear to me that they had received something in the nature of an inquiry from Washington, an inquiry as to whether they had questioned me as to my political opinions when they granted me my visa. They had been furnished, I noticed, with a copy of the record of the hearing before the inspectors of the Department of Labor which had been accorded me during the proceedings that led to the dropping of the deportation charge, which was preferred against me in 1935.

The consular officers were startled to hear that my passage was booked on the "Normandie," which was sailing within a few hours, and they asked me whether I could not postpone my sailing. I told them this would be an exceedingly serious step for me to take since it involved breaking my lecture contract, which bound me to appear in New York on a certain date. And I reminded them that I had been careful to leave them almost a month between my original application for my visa and my date of sailing, precisely because I had surmised that they might wish to make inquiries. In these circumstances they held an inquiry into my political opinions there and then. At the end of perhaps an hour of questioning, both consular officers expressed themselves as taking the view that they could see no reason for a refusal to grant me a visa.

However, they repeated their request that I should postpone my sailing. They said that they made this request in my own interest so that the matter could be finally cleared up before I sailed. I asked them whether they were attempting to indicate to me that if I did sail I should not be allowed to land. I told them that if this was the case, I begged them to say so clearly. For in that case I certainly should not sail, as I should have a valid reason to give to my lecture agent for my breach of contract. Both consular officers assured me that they had no authority even to suggest to me that I should not be allowed to land. Their position was that they could not, if I sailed at once, give me a definite assurance that I should be allowed to land. I then asked them whether it was not the case that a consular visa in any case gave no assurance or guarantee that its holder would be allowed to land. They agreed at once that this was the case.

Thus it emerged from the conversation that if I sailed immediately, I should be in exactly the same position as if I postponed my sailing for a week. Under these circumstances I could not see how I would be justified in breaking my lecturing contract. However, I agreed not to decide then and there but to consult with various friends during the next few hours and let the Consul know what my final decision would be. With this, my interview ended. During the next few hours I talked the matter over with several friends and decided, on their advice, to sail. Accordingly, I rang up the Vice-Consul and told him that I should do so. The Vice-Consul, who had treated me with the utmost courtesy throughout, merely wished me luck.

When I arrived in New York harbor and presented my passport, the immigration authorities informed me that my visa had been canceled on October 7, that is, two days after I had sailed from Southampton, and that it was therefore impossible for them to permit me to land. On the following day I was given a hearing before three inspectors of immigration on Ellis Island. The inspectors conducting the hearing read into the official record of the hearing a letter from Mr. Messersmith of the State Department, which explained what had happened. The State Department had received a cable from the American Consul-General in London in which the Consul General had stated that

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he had received information "from a confidential source" to the effect that:

(a) I was a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

(b) That I had been elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party at its recent convention in Birmingham.

(c) That I contributed articles to Communist journals.

(d) That I had addressed meetings organized by sections of the Communist Party.

On the basis of this information the Consul alleged that I had obtained my visa by fraud, as indeed I should have done, had this information been true. Accordingly, he had acted to cancel my visa.

The representatives of the Immigration Department appeared simply to assume that a Consul had the power to cancel a visa after its holder had left for the United States.

At this point I was allowed to make a statement which was embodied in the record of the hearing. I dealt in some detail with the Consul's allegations. Briefly, the position is this: I am not and have never been a member of the British Communist Party. Hence, it was utterly inconceivable and impossible for me to have been elected at the recent convention of that party, or at any other convention, to its Central Committee. I have now received some very interesting information on this point from Great Britain, however. According to this information, what happened at the Birmingham Convention of the British Communist Party was that a particular local of that party, having seen my name signed to articles in either Communist or left-wing newspapers, had jumped to the extraordinary conclusion that I was a member of the Communist Party and had nominated me for the Central Committee. According to my information, one of the spokesmen of the Communist Party at the Birmingham Convention immediately rose and pointed out that this nomination was entirely invalid as I was not even a rank-and-file member of the Communist Party.

As to the Consul General's two other allegations, I told the inspectors at the hearing that it was perfectly true that I had contributed articles to Communist papers in Britain. On the other hand, I had contributed articles to labor, liberal and conservative papers in Great Britain, for I happen to be a journalist by profession. And I pointed out to the inspectors that if they accepted the Vice-Consul's reasoning, I must not only be a member of the Communist Party, but of the Labor, Liberal and Conservative Parties also. Exactly the same consideration applied to the charge that I had spoken at meetings of bodies affiliated with the British Communist Party. I had spoken at such meetings; but I had also spoken at meetings held under the auspices of the Labor and Liberal parties, and under the auspices of such bodies as the League of Nations Union. And I certainly was not a member of all these bodies.

The next stage was my appearance, on a writ of habeas corpus, before a Federal District Court on October 25 last, after fourteen days' confinement on Ellis Island. Since, I repeat, the Labor Department chose to take the view that the Consul General in London had the power to cancel a visa at his own discretion, they were unwilling and unable to consider the substance of the case at all. In the same way the legal proceedings could not concern themselves with the substance of these charges but solely with the powers of the Consul.

I confess that it was not until I heard the arguments of my attorney, Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays, and of the attorney of the Labor Department, Mr. Rutter, in court, that I realized the extraordinary scope and importance of this precise legal issue. The issue is that of whether or not a consul has the power to cancel a visa at any time after he has issued it.

I was naturally much struck by the fact that Mr. Rutter, who clearly and ably presented the government's contention, admitted quite frankly that he could find neither powers nor precedent for the Consul General's action in canceling a visa after its recipient had left for the United States. Indeed, it now appears certain that the Consul General's action in canceling my visa was wholly without precedent in the history of the United States. It was clearly and unequivocally admitted by the government's counsel that no words could be found in any statute, or in an order issued under any statute, giving consuls this power.

Mr. Rutter naturally fell back on the plea that the power to cancel visas was implied in the undoubted powers of consuls to refuse or grant visas. The Consul, Mr. Rutter, had to argue, had the power to do; therefore it was to be assumed that he had the power to undo. Mr. Hays argued that nothing of the sort could be assumed. For example, officers of the law have the power to issue a summons, but they certainly do not have the power to cancel that summons.

Mr. Rutter next contended that consuls must possess the power to cancel visas after they have been issued, for, he argued, if they did not possess this power, there would be no method of excluding aliens whose inadmissibility had been discovered after the issuance of their visas. But no, Mr. Hays replied, a method for excluding an alien in such a case was expressly provided for by the law, as indeed the Consuls in London had themselves informed me. When one applies for a visa, one signs a document to the effect that the Labor Department has the right to examine one when one arrives in the United States and to exclude one if it is discovered that one is inadmissible.

It is not for me to judge as to the weight of these conflicting contentions, since I am obviously prejudiced. The matter to which I wish to draw the attention of thoughtful Americans is the position that will arise if it is decided that consuls have the power to cancel visas

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at any time after their issuance. There seems little doubt what that position would be.

At present the position of any non-citizen, legally resident in the United States, is that before he or she can be deported, a hearing, with right of appeal to the Secretary of Labor, must be accorded. In this hearing, the alien is given an opportunity to rebut the charge, if he can, on which the Department of Labor is attempting to deport him. If he fails to rebut this charge, he still has recourse to the courts.

Now—and this is the essence of the matter—if the higher courts sustain the view that the Consul General in London was within his powers in canceling my visa, it may well become possible to deport any non-citizen if the Consul in the country in which he obtained the visa that originally enabled him to enter the United States cancels that visa, charging that the alien obtained it by fraud. So far as I am aware—though I hope I am wrong here—such a non-citizen might have been legally resident in the United States for many years. But if his visa were canceled by the American Consul in the country from which he came, he would be instantly and mandatorily deportable. Nor, so far as I can see, would he have any right whatever of appeal to the Labor Department or the Secretary of Labor or to the courts, for the precedent of my case would stand in his way.

I was very much interested to notice that Mr. Rutter, the attorney for the government, appeared to be almost appalled himself by the implications, which, as an able lawyer, he did not fail to see were involved in my case. For he actually argued that although a consul had a right to cancel a visa while the alien was in transit to the United States, as in my case, yet a consul had no powers to cancel a visa after the alien had actually entered the United States. I wish I could think that he was right, but I cannot, for this reason: Mr. Rutter argued that a visa is a mere permission to enter the United States; that once it has served that purpose, and its holder has entered, it, as it were, ceases to exist, and therefore cannot be canceled. But a visa does not cease to exist when its holder enters the United States. On the contrary, a visa is given an alien for a certain definite period, let us say, one year, or six months. At the end of that period, the State Department must renew the visa, or one must leave the United States. Therefore, during one's visit, one is in the United States by permission of a visa that is valid during the period of one's stay. Hence, there does not seem to me to be any room for doubt that if consuls can cancel visas at all, they can cancel them after their holders have entered the United States.

No doubt a distinction might be drawn between immigrants' visas, which have no time limit, and non-immigrants' visas, in this connection. It might be argued, and I very much hope that such an argument would be successful, that even though the higher courts were to sustain the Consul General's cancellation of my visa, this would not set a precedent which established a consul's right to cancel an immigrant's visa. I am afraid, however, that this would be a frail defense if my case is decided adversely.

It is this consideration which makes the precedent which would be set, if the cancellation of my visa were to be sustained, so extraordinarily far-reaching. I am not for a moment suggesting that the present administration is in the least likely to misuse these wholly new and arbitrary powers. This consideration does not alter the fact that their acquisition would mean a new loss of powers on the part of the judiciary to the executive. What, however, would be the position of the millions of resident aliens if an administration of a reactionary character came into office, after the power of consuls to cancel visas had been established?

Moreover, it is at any rate not inconceivable that an American consul abroad might be induced to cancel a visa, not by advices from the American government, but by pressure exercised upon him by the country in which he resides. I notice that it is being freely alleged by certain American newspapers that this is in fact what has happened in my case. It is alleged that the American Consul obtained his misinformation as to my political position from the British government, and that in general it was British pressure that induced him to take the action which he did. I, of course, have no means of forming any opinion on this.

As I understand it, the American government is at present taking the stand that it could not revoke the Consul General's action in canceling my visa, even if it wished to do so. I am informed by independent legal authorities that this is not the case. I am informed that the Department of Labor has the power to issue to me a temporary permit to enter, which would at once render irrelevant the purported cancellation of my visa by the Consul General. If the American government is correct in its contention that it has no power whatever to correct a consul's action in canceling a visa, then the danger of the acquisition of such powers by consuls is enormously increased.

Finally, it may be worth while to observe that the Consul General in London could have had the information as to my alleged membership on the Central Committee of the Communist Party, etc., with which he was supplied during my voyage, investigated, and myself excluded from the United States if these charges were sustained, without there being the slightest need for the cancellation of my visa. He could simply have informed the Labor Department that he had received this information, and requested them to examine me most rigorously upon my arrival in New York and to exclude me if they found this information to be correct. I can well believe that the Consul General in London acted in all good faith. But it appears to me worth while to point out what the consequences of his actions may be.

JOHN STRACHEY

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What Can France Do?

MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION in France talk of a new Sadowa, a new Sedan, with dishonor thrown in. And it is undeniable that even the most pessimistic observers (I reckon myself among them) never believed that France would fail to keep her engagements with regard to Czechoslovakia, engagements which M. Daladier but a few weeks before the Munich accord solemnly declared were inviolable.

What happened in the meantime? Why did France, after encouraging Czechoslovakia to resist, abandon her on September 30? Nothing particular happened save that MM. Daladier and Bonnet flinched before the danger of war, although they held the finest possible set of trumps. The deciding factor was the class interest which nullifies national boundaries. Three classes may be distinguished: aristocracy, big finance and the working masses. The first two hold the levers of power. In France the opinion is widely held that present social institutions would not survive a war, even should it result in a victory for the democracies. In such circumstances the French Ministers, while trying to keep to the well trodden paths of traditional policy, found themselves favoring, or at least tolerating, the formation of currents of opinion contrary to that policy.

In a war between the democracies and the dictatorships the Soviet Union would have played a predominant part, and that inspired the gravest misgivings in aristocratic, financial and upper-bourgeois circles. There were other considerations that weighed in the balance. For instance, the ever increasing depopulation of France, which raised the question whether the country could stand a new bleeding. Then there was the question of the air defense. The number of airplanes available for the defense of Paris and other large centers was insufficient. Little had been done for the protection of the inhabitants of the capital and it was feared that their evacuation would take from forty to fifty days.

MM. Bonnet and Daladier went to London. Faced with the French Ministers' lack of enthusiasm for resolutely fighting on behalf of their Czech allies, Mr. Chamberlain proposed the so-called Anglo-French plan which made England's assistance hinge on the failure of Mr. Chamberlain's own mediation: this English assistance was to take the shape of sending an expeditionary force to France, the general mobilization of the fleet and other measures. For the rest, concessions.

The Anglo-French plan and the sacrifices it imposed on Czechoslovakia aroused considerable indignation, but this was met by new press campaigns on the time-honored theme of the rights of self-determination. That the theme simply did not apply in the present case disturbed the authors of these campaigns not at all.

The Paris Cabinet met often and remained divided. Its meetings always ended by M. Daladier's concluding that if Germany attacked Czechoslovakia, France would do her duty by her ally. This conclusion was often reached in the teeth of the opposition of President Lebrun and of some of the Ministers, including MM. Bonnet, Chautemps and De Monzie.

It was M. Georges Bonnet who was at least partly responsible for proposing the Munich conference. He told the press that it was on his instructions that Ambassador François Poncet made the suggestion to Hitler simultaneously with Mussolini.

This was done at the moment when the French mobilization, which had been carried out in perfect order, was nearly complete, when it was known that Hitler had on three occasions vainly asked Italy to mobilize, when the Soviet Union was ready to strike and the great American republic had, through two important presidential messages, manifested its keen interest in the crisis. It was done at the moment when it was becoming increasingly evident that Germany dared not face war. Evidence of this is afforded by the démarche made on Monday, September 26, at 9 P.M. by Major General of Artillery Ritter von Leeb, General von Hanneken and Colonel Bodenschatz, commander of the Richthoffen Aviation Group, who brought to the Chancellor's office a sealed letter for Hitler's personal perusal. They were not allowed to see the Führer. The following evening they came back and, on again being refused admittance, they left the letter for him. Its contents were, on the best evidence, along the following lines:

The anxiety of the military chiefs was expounded on no less than eighteen pages of script with three appendices. The authors complained of the utter lack of confidence between the political rulers and the military leaders; discontent was rampant in the army, and numerous cases of insubordination were cited. The General Staff warned that the outbreak of war would seriously affect the morale of the nation and it asked that exceptional measures be taken to meet this case. The letter went on to state that the military leaders had had to close their eyes to many breaches of discipline. The fourth instalment drew the Führer's attention to the incalculable consequences of military defeat for Germany. The fifth detailed the reasons for doubting military success. It was bluntly stated that not 20 percent of the commissioned officers believed in the possibility of victory. It was pointed out that the plan of mobilization had been devised in view of sudden rapid operations, localized in Central Europe, and had not foreseen a general conflict. The Eastern front was described as indefensible if the Russian army

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were to break through Poland. The last appendix showed that, allowing for the most favorable circumstances for Germany, Czechoslovakia, fighting single-handed, abandoned by her allies, could hold the German armies in check for three months. It was hardly to be expected that these three months would pass without the conflict's extending farther.

This communication was only one of several of similar tenor submitted during the crisis.

The French Cabinet shut its eyes to the fact that Italy's refusal to mobilize, the Reichswehr's lack of 150,000 officers to complete its cadres and the hostility of its responsible military leaders were compelling reasons for the Reich to yield at the last moment.

History is made up of missed opportunities. Among these, that of September 30, 1938, takes a prominent place, even though the full extent of its evil consequences can hardly yet be appreciated. The democracies had all the trumps in their hands, but they shrank from putting them on the table.

As always in these conversations among the four men, M. Daladier at Munich found himself to a certain extent in a minority of one. He contented himself with imposing some modifications of form while accepting the essence of the Führer's conditions.

Popular enthusiasm acclaimed MM. Daladier and Bonnet for having preferred to abandon to Germany's tender mercies the small country over which they had assumed protection rather than run the risk of war. But the cheering soon subsided and, although the Chamber debate gave MM. Daladier and Bonnet a huge majority, it was dominated by a terrible dull fear of the future. Chaos reigns at the Quai d'Orsay, where they are frantically searching for the basis of that new foreign policy which M. Daladier announced without formulating it, from his seat in the Chamber on October 4.

The question whether France will remain a great power or will sink to the third or fourth rank depends upon the attitude of Russia. Will the Franco-Russian pact remain intact? If so, and provided France continues to be supported by Britain and resolutely adopts a Franco-Russian policy, her situation in the world will remain. Such a policy would enable her to keep the allegiance of Rumania. This would act as a brake on pro-German tendencies in the policy of Yugoslovia, Bulgaria and Greece. France would then be in a position to inform Germany and Italy that the circle of negotiators must be increased by the admission of Poland and Russia as full partners.

If, on the other hand, France does not announce categorically that the Franco-Russian pact is in being and forms the very root of her foreign policy, she will be constrained to go from one diplomatic defeat to another, from one concession to another, till such time as in the natural course of events Hitler will demand the cession of Alsace-Lorraine and Mussolini that of Tunisia. When that day comes the people of France will stand up as one man; it will be heroic as it has so often been in its history. But it will be too late. The sacrifice of the best of her children will not save France's national birthright.

Will narrow-minded class prejudice again lead the rulers of France to provoke an anti-Communist fight in France itself? Should this be the case, the Franco-Russian pact would be seriously weakened. And whether we like it or not, candor compels the admission that France and Britain can probably keep their empires only with Russian help.

Must one be optimistic or pessimistic?

One may be optimistic if, despite the sad lack of independence of the press, the people of France use their great gifts of intelligence to understand that on September 30 they suffered the most terrible defeat in their history and that the only chance of repairing it is to work with might and main at national defense while remaining closely united to Britain and Russia in the foreign field.

One must become pessimistic if it should turn out that the people of France are sufficiently blind to take the easy line of the Four Power Pact and to accept Hitler's declarations of eternal peace provided the Franco-Russian pact be dropped. In that case indeed there would be profound truth in the words of Mr. Winston Churchill: "France and Britain had to choose between war and dishonor. They chose dishonor. They will have war."

GENEVIEVE TABOUIS

Target Practice

Near Mexico, near April, in the morning.
Desert where the sun casts his circles of power
on acquiescent sand shifting beneath them. Car
speeding among white landscapes; suddenly
the permanent scene at the dead-center.

Photo, in circles of speed, how at raw barnside
father and son stand, man with his rifle up
leveled at heartpoint of a nailed-up bird
spread, wings against the wood. The boy's arm thrown
up over his eyes, flinching from coming shot.

Bull's-eye, you bullet! pinning down the scene.
And speed you car over the waste of noon
into the boundaries of distance where
the first ring lessens into memory.
Until, a little lower than the sun,

centered in that last circle, hangs the free
fierce bird down-staring on a target of land,
circle on circle of power spread, and speeding
eyes passing from zone to zone, from war to where
their bullets will never bring him down.

MURIEL RUKEYSER

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Shoot the Works

Divine Diversity

IN A WORLD where the ideals of democracy must fight for their lives against the philosophy of fascism, the last thing that any democracy should ask from its citizens is unanimity of opinion. Indeed, if all Americans thought and spoke as one we would betray our cause. If every little liberal were to lie down with a reactionary of his own sex and size we would have the same sort of peace as that which afflicts the Reich and its European dependencies. Once we all arrive at the same thought and hold it, we might as well call in a Duce.

It is true, of course, that dictator states are always inclined to confuse divergence with disaffection. But that is their little mistake. In that respect it will be better not to accommodate our ways to theirs. And even if a wholly united front were possible in a democracy, it would still be a good idea to connive at the creation of some sideline hecklers just for the sake of appearances.

And so I wonder whether I shall be accused of advocating voluntary censorship or regimentation if I suggest that it might be an excellent idea if every one of us should confine himself to saying exactly what he believes—just that and nothing more. I mean a sort of gentleman's agreement to leave out the excess of 10 or 20 percent which is added on for the sake of emphasis and the hope of headlines. Such abstinence from conscious exaggeration would not be easy. In a fiercely competitive world, politicians and editorial writers and commentators feel it necessary to lay it on pretty thick at times in order to have their voices rise above the din. But if all agree to leave some of the irons out of the caddy bag nobody will have an advantage over his competitors.

It may be that even some of the wildest charges are made in complete good faith. If anybody thinks "that man in the White House" is planning to turn America into a dictatorship he has not only the right but the bounden duty to say just that at the top of his voice. But often it seems to me that the charge is hurled just to make the case more binding. Someone with leave to print believes that Franklin Roosevelt is working for too great a concentration of power in the executive branch of the government. But if he says merely that, some of his more rampant readers may suspect him of being a concealed New Dealer. And so he lets go with both barrels and proclaims that Mr. Roosevelt is seeking to establish himself as another Hitler.

I have encountered editorial writers cooling off in nearby bars after composing a swinging editorial about the President and generally I detect a slight shortness of breath which indicated to me that it had been necessary for the journalist to jump up and down several times in order to get himself sufficiently heated to do a rouser.

On numerous occasions I have seen Mark Sullivan, a gentleman of infinite charm, standing with others around the President's desk at a White House press conference. Franklin smiles and so does Mark and they seem to meet on terms of perfect amity. Accordingly, I am always surprised to read in the essay of the columnist the next day the fearful prophecy that the instigator of the New Deal plans to put a Red under every bed on the first moonless night of 1938. And I wonder whether Mr. Sullivan might not be quite willing to compromise by making it 1939 and every other bed.

Dictators, being averse to democracy and a free press, take no pains to understand such processes. They prefer not to know. But I think that even that sage symbol, the man from Mars, might be puzzled by some of our journalistic modes. It so happens that a messenger from that far country happened to drop down my chimney just the other night. I have no intention of attempting to star myself by mentioning the fact that I played host to the Martian. It was sheer accident. Naturally he was seeking a Connecticut intellectual, since this neck of the woods has recently become the camping ground of the kibitzers of creation. But he was looking for another fellow. Indeed his managing editor aloft had most distinctly instructed him to seek out Stanley High.

However, the night was dark and the good doctor and I live within a stone's throw of each other. Indeed, we've tried it. At any rate there was a sharp thud in the fireplace and out there popped the messenger from Mars, covered with grime and tightly clutching a copy of The Chicago Tribune. He held the paper out to me and I took up the tongs to receive it.

"Please to explain," he said in the sharp clipped accent which obtains in Mars.

"Explain what?" I said crossly, because I don't like people to drop in without first telephoning.

"It's the world's greatest newspaper, no?" he inquired, pointing to a banner line. I let it go. "It is," he continued, "most patriotic paper. Defender of democracy. My country right or wrong. The founding fathers. The Constitution. Liberty. No alien foot or idea. American traditions."

"So what?" I interrupted.

"But," said the Man from Mars, "I see by editorial page President of United States, members of Cabinet all Red. Labor leader John L. Lewis a menace. Harry Hopkins double menace. Whither drifting. One year and several months to save America. Maine and Vermont. Everything going to hell quite rapidly. All is lost except circulation. Please to explain."

"It is called freedom of the press," I answered patiently. "The man who owns and runs The Chicago Tribune does not like or agree with President Roosevelt, who was chosen in the last national election, and so it is his privilege and the privilege of every other newspaper editor to call our chief executive any kind of crook he pleases."

"Elected?" said the Man from Mars in great surprise.

"That is the general impression."

"But," persisted the Man from Mars, "defend democracy with heart's blood. Curse democracy with last breath. Please to explain."

I took him roughly by the shoulder and said, "Turn to your right when you get out and keep going until you reach the gasoline station. Turn right again and walk up the hill to the white schoolhouse. Turn right. Keep going. Dr. High's house is the third farm on the right. Ask him. He works for The Saturday Evening Post. He knows all the answers."

HEYWOOD BROUN

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Washington Notes

No Truce with Hague

POLITICIANS HERE still think—as these Notes are written—that Mr. Lehman will up-end Mr. Dewey in New York. They are ready to believe, however, that he may not win by more than 250,000 votes. Among its other extraordinary aspects, the New York election is perhaps the first in which Dr. Gallup's poll is having a tangible effect. His estimate, some days ago, that the candidates each had exactly 50 percent of the electorate is reported to have changed Republican Party workers into so many Mexican jumping beans. Rich Republicans, who had previously refused to give money to what they considered a dead-horse candidacy, began to fork up.

In fact, the Gallup poll was to some degree an optical delusion. Democratic strategists had known that New York's vote would be about halfway between 1934 and 1936, or the enormous total of 4,500,000. From their own surveys, based on laboriously compiled reports by district leaders, they had also expected a close vote. Mr. Lehman's plurality in 1936, a presidential year, was about 520,000, and they had expected it to be less in this election.

What baffled at least some of the Democratic leaders was the fact that a close vote, expressed in percentages, looks closer than it does in figures. A Lehman plurality of 250,000 would still represent a tremendous lot of ballots. Against New York's total vote, however, it is less than six percent, and puts the candidates' standing at: Lehman, 53 percent, Dewey, 47 percent. Dr. Gallup was at pains to point out that his own poll might have a substantial margin of error. It ought not to have alarmed the Democratic leaders. But, in some mysterious way, the spectacle of Mr. Lehman, "New York's greatest vote-catcher," standing even-Stephen with the upstart, Mr. Dewey, shocked them.

The New Jersey CIO and the state branch of Labor's Non-Partisan League have had a difficult course to steer in the present campaign, and it seems to me they have acted with skill and prudence. Some time ago, former Senator W. Warren Barbour, again the Republican senatorial candidate, asked for the LNPL's support. The LNPL laid down two conditions: that Mr. Barbour repudiate Mayor Hague and Hagueism, and that he pledge himself to resist any change in the National Labor Relations Act. The LNPL believed it could rely on Mr. Barbour's pro-labor vows because of the relatively satisfactory dealings of the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee with the textile mills in which Mr. Barbour is interested.

The LNPL's endorsement of Mr. Barbour brought quick remonstrances from the managers of ex-WPA Administrator W. H. J. Ely, Mr. Barbour's Democratic rival. The LNPL was reminded that Mr. Barbour's own relations with Mayor Hague, in times past, have been uncommonly close, and that, ever since Mr. Hague denied CIO organizers entrance to Jersey City, Mr. Roosevelt has been systematically weeding out Hague henchmen from the federal service. Furthermore, a Republican victory in New Jersey would be a slap at Mr. Roosevelt, the best friend organized labor has had. All right, the LNPL said in effect, let Mr. Ely publicly repudiate Mr. Hague, and we will endorse him too. As these Notes are written, negotiations between the LNPL and the Ely managers are still in progress, with the LNPL reported to be standing firm. It is observing the first rule of politics: don't give something for nothing.

One of the hardest-hitting, shrewdest fights being made by the LNPL in the present campaign is that in the Massachusetts district of Mr. Joseph W. Martin Jr., who—if he survives the LNPL's attack—will probably be the next Republican House leader. The LNPL's candidate against him is Mr. Lawrence Bresnahan, young, able, aggressive. In charge of the campaign is Mr. Frank Manning, regional director of the TWOC and one of the most promising of the next generation's labor leaders. The state Democratic Party is woefully split among Hurleyites, Curleyites and New Dealers, with the result it may lose the governorship to the elegant Mr. Leverett Saltonstall. But in Mr. Martin's district, Mr. Manning, with the help of White House advisers, has created a solid alliance of workers and New Dealers, and placed Mr. Martin in the greatest peril of his career.

The administration's new program of putting the utility industry on a war footing—to combat what seems to me an altogether mythical foreign enemy—has a number of obscure features. As explained by administration advisers, it is predicated on acceptance by the utility systems of the anti-holding-company law. Operating companies will have had their funded capital written down, and will have been freed from blood-sucking service contracts with their former masters. With scrubbed ears and wiped noses, they will then be "good." It is an engineering fact that there is now a near-shortage of generating capacity in the Eastern states, due partly to the late timidity of private capital. The administration, accordingly, proposes to lend the companies a billion dollars, to which they are supposed to add two billions more. With these sums, generating centers, not only within systems but between systems, will be hooked together in a great national grid.

This is the plan. Observers point out, however, that most of the big systems have not yet explained how they mean to comply with the anti-holding-company law, and that it is probable a period of tough-minded negotiation lies ahead. Observers ask, consequently, whether the White House should not wait until the systems have given evidence of their new "goodness" before promising to shower them with low-cost government credit. Again, according to repeated hints in financial publications, system executives are supposed to have told the administration that they would not expand distributing facilities without guarantees against government competition, particularly in the shape of PWA loans to municipalities and power districts. According to the same sources, the administration is ready to give such assurances to "good" companies. To some observers, this sounds like a willful abandonment of the administration's "yardstick" weapon against high consumer rates. Finally, if a grid system is actually to be created, it is not clear what authority the Federal Power Commission is to have over

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agreements between companies for the exchange of power, nor how its authority is to be enforced. Washington skeptics, however, recall that apparently far-reaching understandings were arrived at with the utility industry during the 1934 and 1936 campaigns, neither of which lasted six weeks after election day. It may be that, by December, the administration will have forgotten about the present war emergency.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Is It Recovery?

THE AIR, or at least the news columns of our daily journals, are bright with rosy pictures of the rising business tide. This is quite understandable. If confidence is not the sole and magic dynamo for producing prosperity which Mr. Hoover seemed to think it, certainly it has its uses. And it is quite natural that newspapers devoted to business and serving business should make the most of every wind that blows to bolster confidence and start things moving.

A dispassionate view of the business situation, however, leaves something to be desired on the score of that joyous optimism which pervades the press and the business-office economists.

Actual production is, of course, a little better than at this time last year. But now it is improving, while at this time last year it was declining. The actual decline in production began in May, 1937, and continued steadily until July of this year. It has been getting better since then.

The other factor on the production side—building construction—runs about the same. In only three months of this year, thus far, has building construction been higher than last year—in May, August and September. And then the increase was not very significant. But the tendency has been up and that has furnished a basis to optimists for their good feelings. But it will have to go up a very long way yet before it is enough to have any real importance.

In the field of retail trade, the story is less reassuring. Last year, in the face of many bad signs in business, retail trade continued to exhibit very robust energy. In every month last year it was better than in the same month of the preceding year. But after Christmas last year retail trade fell off very badly and it has continued in that condition ever since. For the last three months it has been heavily lower than last year. It is difficult to understand how anyone looking at these very poor retail figures compared with last year—which was a depression year—can experience any satisfaction with the business situation.

The same thing is true of freight-car loadings and bank debits. It is of general industrial production, retail trade, building construction, freight-car loadings and bank debits that I compound my own business-index line. And these factors reveal, on the whole, a slight improvement in business starting in June, pausing in July and continuing in August.

More important are those figures which bear upon the future. I keep a careful tabulation of the aggregate of federal, state, local and private security financing each month. These figures mark the flow of public and private funds into the bloodstream of business. There has been a slight increase in this flow during this year compared with last, but it has not been very much better than last year, despite all the publicity given to public spending. It has been enough to account for the mild rise in business since May, but nothing more. And there is not in prospect, so far as I can see, any acceleration of either public or private financing that would justify the expectation of any very heavy improvement in activity.

There is, perhaps, one source of public spending that has not yet gotten into action—this is the public-works program under the act of 1938. This was launched in June, but up to the present only $22,000,000 has been expended. When the act was passed much was made of its potentialities for starting business forward quickly. At the time attention was called to the fact that it takes a long time to get a public-works project, as distinguished from a Works Progress Administration project, started. Those cautions have proved correct. How long will it be before these PWA projects get under way in sufficient number to become effective on the volume of business activity? It seems fairly certain that it will be many months. And even then it will not rise to such proportions as to be dominating.

It is difficult to escape the suspicion that the administration is aware of this and that it realizes this recovery effort is skating on very thin ice, and that is the reason for the pressure being put behind the proposals to rearm.

In any case, unless some energies more potent than those now visible make their appearance, the mild recovery movement now visible will not last very long.

The retiring head of the Investment Bankers' Association is deeply disturbed by the threat to democracy which he sees in the trend toward centralization. It is about time these gentlemen began to be bothered about this a little. I wonder if the gentleman has ever asked himself where this trend began. It didn't begin with the federal government or any political organization. It began with business, and most of all with the investment bankers themselves.

By what name do they call that movement which has been going on in this country for seventy years in business in which, sponsored by the investment bankers, through mergers, combinations, all sorts of corporate devices and financial schemes, business has been centralized? Great utility structures were created in which the utility facilities of a dozen or a score of states were brought under the control of one powerful super-holding company in Boston, New York or Chicago. Vast networks of stores, immense aggregations of producing machinery spread all over the country were, by similar corporate devices, made into great interstate giants. If citizens challenged them for any purpose in local courts the managers promptly switched the litigation into federal courts. State laws could not follow them. The federal government and the state government fought this movement for seventy years. Now they surrender to it perforce. There is no way to deal with the activities of monster citizens, as these corporations are, spreading over the whole country, but by a government that is at least as big as they are and can reach them no matter where they are. JOHN T. FLYNN

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Lincoln and Huston

Abe Lincoln in Illinois, by Robert E. Sherwood. Plymouth Theatre, October 15, 1938.
Knickerbocker Holiday. Book and Lyrics by Maxwell Anderson. Music by Kurt Weill. Ethel Barrymore Theatre, October 19, 1938.

IT WOULD BE INTERESTING to see Mr. Sherwood's play without a previous knowledge of Lincoln and portrayed by some other actor. Certain aspects of its esthetic and dramatic values might then be considered to another advantage, where now I feel no great certainty as to just what the dramatist has achieved.

That, of course, is talking nonsense. For the dramatist to count here on a more or less given amount of knowledge about Lincoln is perfectly legitimate. The entire precedent of classic tragedy is behind that argument; and, moreover, there is no way of knowing at what point exactly we leave off the assumption of a common dialect between audience and playwright, a dialect either of mere words, of culture, or of knowledges in experience—we have a right to assume that people know something of words and their meaning, something, for example, of light, something of Lincoln, and so on. As for another actor in the role, I can think of no other actor who could do what Mr. Raymond Massey does here.

By all odds this is the top of Mr. Massey's performances on the American stage. The role of the younger Lincoln carries with it the simplicity and intensity, the vacillation, the impulse and check of a half-mystic, the homely truths, the absence of formal possibility, the off-hand and the frontier, the wayward, the reaction in terms common to humanity everywhere, the sudden impulse and the pain with no fine terms in which to convey themselves; such a role undoubtedly falls into Mr. Massey's particular scope. His emotional conscience, as it were, and his technical method are best suited to conveying just this sort of material. His performance comes short only in those passages that require a strong projection—in the debate with Douglass, for example—where a sort of glamor in leadership is part of the dramatic conflict. In the other passages of the play, Mr. Massey triumphs, sometimes with lines that feed his ardor and intention of tenderness, sometimes in spite of lines that seem to repeat, or at least not to move forward.

Thanks to his talent, Mr. Sherwood has conceived here a story that goes only up to the point of Lincoln's election to the presidency and departure for Washington. As a result, the poignancy that we see in the face of the Lincoln who sat for Brady, the photographer, in the final years, the almost mystical forebodings, and the powers of feeling and imagination that marked him then, are quietly redistributed over the past, and are made to appear at what we are to believe is their earlier source, more pressing, mute, elusive and unforgettable. Such qualities as these Mr. Massey in his acting completely achieves, and to them he adds a recognizable but curiously indefinable distress, a sort of blind alley in the heart somehow, the heart itself young.

Thousands of years before Lincoln was born, it was already impossible, in the pursuit of a certain realistic candor, to write fully of anyone in the least heroic. This play of Mr. Sherwood's, for all our confident freedom of matter and speech, suffers in its own way from this same cause. Lincoln was undoubtedly more varied, contagious, given to dirty stories, native, sharp, bold, shy, glowing, than any stage portrait of him ever was or ever was likely to be. To include the incident's detail, the local comment, the almost scandal, if you like, would merely interfere with the completeness of creation in the character that the play wishes to present. The episodes that are strung together in "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" vary in the extent to which they express Lincoln's story and characteristics. Audiences, therefore, will differ as to the theatre merits of the divers scenes and episodes. Mr. Brooks Atkinson finds the whole occasion of this Lincoln play rich with overtones, admirable and even thrilling. Mr. John Anderson finds that some of the scenes drag pretty heavily, especially toward the end of Act I and through Act II. The play, he says, and who would not agree with him? is also too long—it has by report been shortened by some seventeen minutes since the opening that Mr. Anderson saw. Mr. John Mason Brown touches on the lack of development in the scenes, and says that the best scenes in the play are ghost-written, meaning where Lincoln's own words have been adopted by the dramatist. For my part I find that though the play may vary in its levels, and prove unequal in its choices and final values, the region of it is exalted in the dramatist's own private inclination and attitude toward the subject; the effect at times heavy, the tone noble.

Miss Muriel Kirkland, as Mrs. Lincoln, brought an under-written and elusive role to the point of distinction; a certain boldness in approach to this ungrateful part helped to stamp the impression on our minds; a certain integrity in the effect completed our respect for the player's taste and acumen. The production begins the series by the Playwrights' Company (Robert E. Sherwood, S. N. Behrman, Sidney Howard, Elmer Rice, Maxwell Anderson). Perhaps on the whole, honorable is the word for this, their first occasion.

I could not help thinking as I watched this Lincoln play, how history appears to move toward patterns, which, once arrived at and found satisfactory, are afterward clung to more or less regardless. For example, the pattern of Lincoln's emancipating the slaves—I imagine many people are moved during the course of this play to picture him knocking off the fetters at one solemn stroke, let Freedom ring! As a matter of fact Lincoln, when he freed the slaves in 1862, freed only those in regions not under Northern control, the rest remained slaves, and so it was for three years. Lincoln had been dead several months when slavery in the United States was abolished. Nevertheless, the tradition has its power, and some of this power and seriousness has passed into this new play. No great worry. There are too many cases of triumphing patterns—Columbus for example, how often have we been told that Columbus had to succor mankind from the notion that the earth was flat! The thought is stirring and complete, regardless of such facts, for instance, as that Aristotle, and Parmenides before him, taught that the earth was a sphere; and nine years before Columbus' voyage, Pope Pius II said in passing, as a truism, that practically everyone agrees that the world is round—*Mundi formam omnes fere consentiunt rotundam esse.*

Everyone agrees that the book of "Knickerbocker Holiday" is flat. If Mr. Maxwell Anderson's effort must rate

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thus, Mr. Kurt Weill's music is quite the contrary—varied, clever, rich-sounding, witty, now and again very impressive. Mr. Walter Huston's Peter Stuyvesant is a performance seemingly effortless, complete, magnetic, beautiful.

STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

"It is my hope," Mr. Chamberlain said, "and I believe, that under this new system of guarantees the new Czechoslovakia will find greater security than she has ever enjoyed in the past." – *From a news item in The London Times.*

In my private life I am far from heartless. For example, I have two pet canaries and whenever I am kept out late at some party meeting, I come home and stumble around in the dark rather than turn the light on and wake them up. – *Julius Streicher, editor of the anti-Jewish Nazi paper, Der Stürmer, quoted in The Anti-Nazi Bulletin, New York.*

As Adolf Hitler motored through this little spa today, girls wearing Egerland costumes presented him with a glass of Franzenbad water. These waters are usually prescribed for young mothers or those eager for motherhood. – *A special cable to The New York Daily News.*

Write Your Own Ticket

Signor Preziosi adds that in New York Jewish Bolshevist circles a list is being circulated giving the names of those who will compose the United States Cabinet when Jews have won the elections.

The list, as Signor Preziosi cites it, names Mr. Baruch as President; Albert Einstein, Vice President; Herbert H. Lehman, Secretary of State; Mr. Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, and Leon Trotsky, Secretary of War. Walter Lippmann is listed as "Director of the Press." – *From a news item in The New York Times discussing an article in the Italian magazine, Vita Italiana, by Giovanni Preziosi.*

If the Palette Fits

Spindler, a [British] portrait painter, was alive but had, indeed, not exhibited for more than thirty years, and previously when he had, his pictures had been highly praised as revealing the alleged psychology of his sitters rather than their physical appearance; he had narrowly escaped several lawsuits. – *From a news item in The New York Times.*

Including Apoplexy?

Helena Rubenstein's Orchid Make-up helps you face the new purples. Your complexion will have the freshness of an orchid, a lavender and old lace quality to complement all purple shades! – *Advertisement of Wanamaker's, Philadelphia, published in The Philadelphia Record.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. – THE EDITORS

A Communication

Partisan Review

SIR: We sympathize with Malcolm Cowley's growing impatience with Partisan Review, whose literary and political values are at drastic variance with his own. But we must point out that his article on our magazine [The New Republic, October 19] is a malicious and politically motivated attack masquerading as a matter of literary differences. These are strong words. We think we can show they are justified.

Mr. Cowley makes two main charges against Partisan Review. (1) We have proclaimed that literature should not be degraded to an instrument of political factionalism, and yet we devote much space to what Mr. Cowley calls "Anti-Soviet articles." (2) This secret addiction to politics has reduced Partisan Review to the literary level of The New Masses.

To support his first charge, Mr. Cowley quotes from our opening Editorial Statement, which announced a policy of "no commitments to any political party." This he interprets to mean that Partisan Review had forsworn politics and was going to devote itself to an above-the-battle kind of Pure Literature, such as The Dial once stood for. And so he points triumphantly to the fact that we have actually paid a good deal of attention to politics. But we have always agreed with Mr. Cowley that the contemporary writer must concern himself with politics if his work is to have any deep meaning for our time. Mr. Cowley's quotations from our editorial were, to say the least, very selective. One sentence he did *not* quote was: "Any magazine, we believe, that aspires to a place in the vanguard of literature today, will be revolutionary in tendency." That is clear enough, surely.

But Mr. Cowley also objects to the *kind* of political approach we have had, insisting that to attack the Communist Party's cultural line is to play factional politics. This we deny. The struggle between Stalinism and revolutionary Marxism seems to us to go far beyond party or factional issues. By this time, Stalinism has ceased to be a revolutionary tendency, and in fact is rapidly turning into the opposite. We do not consider our struggle against it as committing us to any party line, any more than we consider our constant criticism of capitalist values—whether "democratic" or fascist—a matter of factional politics. Many radical groups, from the Fourth International to the Social Democratic Federation, oppose Stalinism for much the same reasons we do. We have never endorsed the political line of any of these groups—which obviously on other subjects have deep-rooted differences among themselves—nor have we excluded any contributor from our pages because he belonged to or didn't belong to any of these groups. And if the literary sympathizers of the Communist Party have not appeared in our pages, it is because they have yielded to a well organized boycott campaign.

Mr. Cowley quotes extensively from two paragraphs of our six-paragraph Editorial Statement. But he neither quotes from nor mentions the three central paragraphs,

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which were devoted to a single theme: our reasons for repudiating the Communist Party, and our determination to fight against its cultural influence. Mr. Cowley is simply misrepresenting when he implies we have made any secret of our position on this issue.

Mr. Cowley's other charge—of inferior literary quality—he is careful to make almost wholly in the form of innuendo. Thus he implies but does not state that Partisan Review is on the same cultural level as The New Masses. (Our lawyers assure us that, although calculated to injure our business, this is an expression of opinion and so not libelous.) He implies but does not state that, for political reasons, *we have shut the door on talented young unknowns.* (We might note that our $100 short-story prize was divided between two young writers whose prose we were the first to print.) Mr. Cowley accuses us of substituting political for esthetic criteria—and also objects to our poetry and stories as "second-hand" Kafka and Mallarmé. Does this imply that Kafka and Mallarmé were Trotsky-ist-Bukharinist agents? He also charges that "factional politics has got into the book reviews." It is true that Sidney Hook raised, legitimately we thought, the Stalinist issue in reviewing Kenneth Burke's book, but we challenge Mr. Cowley to detect this issue in any other of the thirty-one reviews we have so far printed.

Mr. Cowley states: "F. W. Dupee . . . wrote a long essay on André Malraux and ended up by dismissing him as 'the type of liberal Comintern lobbyist thrown up by the stooge politics of people's-frontism.' " This is a really scandalous misquotation: Mr. Dupee applied these words not to Malraux, but to Garcia, the central character in "L'Espoir."

It seems odd to us that Mr. Cowley, whose passion for Pure Literature burns in every line of his article, has never criticized The New Masses—whose literary deficiencies he admits in passing—as he now attacks Partisan Review. It also seems odd that Mr. Cowley should find our literary standards so low when such non-political and exclusively literary magazines as Poetry, New Directions and The Criterion have printed flattering notices of Partisan Review. Or rather, knowing Mr. Cowley's political commitments to the Communist Party, it doesn't seem at all odd.

Who is this Galahad of Pure Literature, who demands that Partisan Review emasculate itself politically? (His position amounts to this: if you're going to touch on politics, be Stalinist; if you can't be Stalinist, then back to the Ivory Tower with you!) Who is this belated mourner at the bier of *The Dial* and *The Hound and Horn*? Isn't this the same Mr. Cowley we remember exhorting us at Writers' Congresses to climb up on the bandwagon of revolution? Isn't this the Malcolm Cowley who not so long ago wrote an article in defense of political censorship of literature? And could we have mistaken the name signed to a review in The New Republic a few weeks ago which argued that Yeats was saved from "a broken career and an early death" by his political interests—even though he had "in many cases the wrong opinions"? Partisan Review's wrong opinions seem to have had just the opposite effect on its literary career from Mr. Yeats's wrong opinions.

Mr. Cowley concludes his high-minded defense of literary values by remarking of Partisan Review, "Put a green cover on it, and today you could hardly tell it from The American Mercury." This is no more nor less than Red-baiting, C.P. style.

THE EDITORS OF PARTISAN REVIEW

New York City

[A reply to this communication, by Malcolm Cowley, appears on page 22 of this issue.—THE EDITORS]

Correspondence

The Catholic Movie Censorship

SIR: Elizabeth Yeaman's article entitled "The Catholic Movie Censorship" [The New Republic, October 5] opens with the statement that Joseph I. Breen is "the one-man censor of the movies" and "vigorously dictates a morals code to the film executives." The truth is that Mr. Breen heads the Production Code Administration—a board whose eleven members include adherents of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths, are of varying ages and widely different backgrounds and experience. Mr. Breen and those of us privileged to work with him in this department of the trade association headed by Will H. Hays administer a Production Code voluntarily adopted by the film executives themselves in 1930—nearly four years before the Catholic Legion of Decency commenced its activities.

Miss Yeaman asserts that "There are few set rules of *censorship* (sic) and each case is a matter for individual judgment." The truth is that the printed Code with its preamble, 12 sections, 39 subdivisions and supporting analysis would fill several pages of The New Republic. We have no authority to reject a picture submitted unless it violates Code provisions.

Miss Yeaman asserts that "The cheap independent pictures must observe a *censorship* (sic) far more stringent than the expensive films of major studios." The truth is that we render identical service to member and non-member producers, both domestic and foreign, and collect uniform service charges (halved for foreign pictures) scaled in proportion to picture costs. About 98 percent of all currently exhibited entertainment films bear our seal of approval because both members and non-members of this association continue to submit scripts and other film material to us for advisory opinions in advance of production, and completed films for review and certification. Two hundred and twenty-eight of the 608 new feature pictures approved last year were voluntarily submitted by independent producers. The fact that there have been only six appeals from the more than 20,000 written decisions issued during the last four years speaks for itself.

Miss Yeaman's repeated use of "censorship" in referring to our activities indicates misunderstanding of the self-regulatory nature of the Code and its administration. "Censorship" is imposed from without by political fiat, whereas here both member and non-member producers of motion pictures turn to the industry's own duly constituted agent to apply standards of morality and good taste embodied in the industry's own Code, to current screen productions before release. If the editorial board of a metropolitan newspaper, or of a Press Association, or for that

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matter of The New Republic, can be regarded as engaged in "censorship" in applying established standards of common decency, common honesty and good taste to its product in advance of publication, then we too are "censors." The common run of people do not thus define "censorship."

FRANCIS STUART HARMON,
Head, Eastern Branch, Production Code Administration
New York City

[While Mr. Breen has a number of associates, this does not prevent his being the dominating personality. Many independent observers have testified that he is. As to how many rules of censorship constitute "a few" opinion will vary. The code mentions twelve subjects, some of which have several subdivisions. Miss Yeaman's charge that the Breen organization is more lenient with the big companies which are members of the MPPDA than with the small independents has been made by many other persons. The small number of appeals from the large number of decisions of course means nothing. Most of these decisions are pure routine matters, and even when they are not, few people in Hollywood have any desire to kick against the pricks.

It is a striking fact that films which were approved by the all-denominational administrators of the production code before the advent of Mr. Breen are not eligible for release today until they have passed through the Breen censorship mill. An interesting example is "A Farewell to Arms," which was released by Paramount in 1932 and reissued this year. It had to be submitted to the Breen office for a "purity seal" before it could be shown again, and 1,000 feet, including some poignant and vital scenes, were snipped out.

As for the word "censorship," Mr. Harmon seems to us to have made up his own definition. We feel confident that most New Republic readers would agree with Miss Yeaman's. The essential and important fact pointed out by her remains undisputed: the world's most influential form of folk art, which is dominated by Hollywood, is dictated by men who are not artists at all but politicians and who interfere in artistic matters from a politician's point of view. This interference, as hundreds of examples prove, is often bigoted and stupid.—THE EDITORS]

A History of the International Brigade

SIR: Fact is preparing a history of the International Brigade, edited by Stephen Spender, who is fairly well known, I think, to your readers. We would be deeply grateful for any letters, memoirs, anecdotes or other authentic history that could be sent or loaned us. Great care would be taken of any such documents, which should be addressed to Mr. Spender, care of Fact, 19, Garrick Street, London, W.C.2. I should add that this history is being written with the coöperation of the British Communist Party and other officially interested bodies over here.

London, Eng. RAYMOND POSTGATE

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Lyn Smith, executive secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, New York City, sends an interesting account of the questionnaire her organization mailed to the congressional candidates in the Seventeenth District, Manhattan. It covers such issues as the war referendum, civil liberties, a world disarmament conference, national defense, neutrality, a munitions embargo and conscription. George Backer, American Labor Party candidate, and Professor Clinton W. Keyes, Socialist candidate, answered "yes" to all the questions, which the International League regards as the "right" position. Walter Liebman, the Democratic candidate, answered "yes" on six out of nine. Bruce Barton, the Republican candidate, refused to answer the questions at all.

Dr. L. A. Eldridge of Great Neck, New York, is in favor of the investigation of our State Department which The New Republic proposed in the editorial in the October 26 issue. He would like to see an article describing the characters and viewpoints of the Department's members here and abroad. . . . Lewis A. Dexter of Belmont, Massachusetts, protests against Frederick L. Schuman's hope (in "The Great Conspiracy," October 26) that when London calls for the United States' aid in fighting "the Fascist Triplice," there will be a deafening silence in Washington. "If, in the hour of Britain's need, she happens to be serving as the first line of defense for America, then regardless of what characteristics of illegitimacy her rulers may have displayed in 1938, we ought to go to her aid."

Maximilian Rudwin passes on some examples of Franco flattery from the French Fascist weekly, Gringoire: "Franco is an officer who gets up every morning at six o'clock to go to mass at seven o'clock. . . . He has no ambition to be a dictator. . . . Franco is kind; he is perhaps too kind. . . . In Spain one is either a Catholic or one is nothing. . . . Democratic and parliamentary spirit which slipped into our institutions has engendered error and evil. . . . The new order which will be imposed on Spain will necessarily be totalitarian. . . . The new Spanish State will act as a Catholic State."

Fred Elder of Kansas City, Missouri, always opens his New Republic to John T. Flynn or Heywood Broun. "It is immaterial whether there is anything else in the 'Journal of Opinion' or not, for this week I already have more than full value received for the price of admission." . . . Harold R. Hosea, editor of the Index of Research Projects, the Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., gives us a summary of the results of the 2,000 research projects which are indexed in a volume of 291 pages, published by the WPA. The material is available to any individual with a serious interest in research. Copies of the Index may be obtained from the WPA offices in Washington. . . . Hubert Desaulniers, chairman of the Canadian Civil Liberties Union, Room 211, 1405 Peel Street, Montreal, describes the work this office is doing to fight the Quebec Padlock Law and to defend François Lessard, who has been arrested under the law. The CCLU is trying to raise $10,000 to carry on these and similar battles. It would greatly appreciate any contribution from New Republic readers.

What's on the Air?

Participants in The People's Platform, including James G. McDonald, debate about "What Should Be Done with Refugees?" Sunday, November 6, 7 P.M., CBS.

Colonel Frederick Palmer, dean of war correspondents, discusses "Peace—How Long and How?" Sunday, November 6, 10:30 P.M., NBC-Red Network.

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain of Great Britain speaks Wednesday, November 9, 4:20 P.M., NBC-Blue Network, Mutual and CBS.

"Where Will the Munich Agreement Lead?" is discussed by Anne O'Hare McCormick, Hugh Johnson and Felix Morley on "America's Town Meeting of the Air," Wednesday, November 10, 9:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Musical and dramatic programs of the week include "Samson Agonistes," a radio play in verse by Norman Rosten, Saturday, November 5, 8:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; Arturo Toscanini and the symphony orchestra, Saturday, November 5, 10 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; the Philharmonic Society of New York, Sunday, November 6, 3 P.M., CBS; the Bach Cantata series, Sunday, November 6, 8 P.M., Mutual; and Wilbur Daniel Steele's "Luck," Thursday, November 10, 10 P.M., CBS.

All times given are Eastern Standard Time.

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Books in Review

Red Ivory Tower

I WAS LESS surprised than bewildered by the letter from the editors of Partisan Review that is printed on page 19 of this issue. Of course they would disagree with what I said three weeks ago about their magazine. But the letter is a vehement answer to no article that was ever written by me or printed in The New Republic. To list a few of the misapprehensions:

I did not make the "two main charges against Partisan Review" that the editors represent me as making. My point was simply that it started out as one sort of magazine—a sort for which there is a great need—and seems to be ending as another. It started out as a literary monthly opposed to "political meddling in behalf of narrow party interests"; it seems to be ending as a narrow party organ.

I did not interpret the policy of "no commitments to any political party" as meaning that Partisan Review had forsworn political discussion. The statement was taken absolutely at its face value.

I do not believe that attacking the cultural line of the Communist Party is the same as playing partisan politics; that was made clear in my review of "The Seven Soviet Arts." But such attacks become partisan politics when there is practically nothing else in a magazine. It was after reading the August-September issue of Partisan Review that I wrote my article. The issue contained, exclusive of correspondence and editorial comment, fifty-eight pages of anti-Soviet or anti-Communist polemics, as against eight pages of literary material.

I did not imply that the editors made any secret of their opposition to the Communists. My complaint was that they let it become a fixation, a mania that ended by driving almost everything else out of their minds and magazine.

I did not state or imply that Partisan Review was on the same cultural level as The New Masses. That might have laid me open to libel suits from both magazines. What I did imply was that they shouldn't be compared or put themselves in a place to be compared, since The New Masses set out to be and has remained a journal of political comment whereas Partisan Review, to quote its cover, is "a literary monthly."

I did not state or imply that, for political reasons, it has "shut the door on talented young unknowns." It deserves credit for printing several, especially in the first few issues, though I think it often failed to find their best work. Later, of course, they were crowded out by articles like Dwight Macdonald's relentless and apparently endless feud with the Soviet cinema.

Did I misquote F. W. Dupee's essay on Malraux? The last few lines of it read as follows: "Garcia thus achieves the dignity of a social type, short-lived, no doubt, but authentic enough while it lasts—the type of liberal Comintern lobbyist thrown up by the stooge politics of people's-frontism. 'L'Espoir,' too, comes under that head." Since "L'Espoir" is a novel and therefore could not be a lobbyist, I assumed that Mr. Dupee was referring to the author of the novel. Of course my point was that phrases like "liberal Comintern lobbyist" or "stooge politics of people's-frontism" have no place in a serious literary discussion, whether they are applied to Malraux or his novel or his created characters.

There are other mistakes or misreadings that ought to be corrected, but enough samples have been given already. The editors of Partisan Review didn't read what I wrote, or read it through a distorting lens. I could answer them best by referring them back to my original article.

Near the end of their letter, the editors introduce a topic that ought to be discussed quite apart from the present controversy. It is the old topic of the interrelation between art and politics. I am said to be demanding "that Partisan Review emasculate itself politically" and become a magazine of pure art; those are harsh words but let them pass. On the other hand, I argued a few weeks ago that the political life of William Butler Yeats helped to save him from a broken career like those of his friends. Why should politics have a good effect in Dublin and a bad one among the New York intellectuals?

The obvious answer is that the word "politics" and its derivatives are being used in two different senses.

In the case of Yeats, they refer to his temporary but direct and vigorous participation in the struggles of his people. He was not saved—no poet can be saved—by adopting the right political opinions. I was much more interested in his political *actions*. There was a time, I said, "when he worked and fought among the Irish masses, shared their hopes and hatreds, learned to speak their language and transformed it into a medium for great poetry. He had broken his isolation, stepped out of his private world; he had found a subject and an audience." And Yeats's experience is by no means unique in literary history. Every writer starts out with a store of material accumulated in childhood and youth—starts out, as the critics used to say, "with at least one good novel in a pack on his back." Almost every writer lives to see that pack emptied. It must be filled again, from the outside world, but it cannot be filled by a cold and deliberate accumulation of facts. A writer has to live and work with people and share their inmost feelings before he can make their experiences part of his own store. That helps to explain why revolutionary movements and periods have reawakened many talents.

In the case of Partisan Review and several other magazines, the word "politics" takes on a different meaning. This time there is no question of sharing in popular struggles, of fighting or marching or even raising money. Instead there is a great interest in the ethics and esthetics and metaphysics of politics, an interest in opinions as divorced from action, in theology as divorced from religion, leading to a doctrine of salvation by revolutionary faith alone. The result is a retreat from practical life into something that I heard described three years ago as the red ivory tower. It is a place beyond the world, as lonely and as lacking in human warmth as the white ivory tower of the Symbolists.

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But the mention of Yeats brings up still another topic that needs discussion. One of the reasons why he withdrew from the Irish national movement was his disgust with the endless quarrels between factions. He found that they led to blindly fixed opinions and sterile hatreds. "Most of us were prosecuting heretics," he says. "Our conventions . . . were dominated by little groups . . . which had the intensity and narrowness of theological sects." He reflected that much of the bitterness was due to what was really loathing for oneself or one's world. "If that loathing . . . remains but loathing, world or self consumes itself away, and we turn to its mechanical opposite. Popular Nationalism and Unionism so changed into one another, being each but the other's headache." For Popular Nationalism and Unionism we can substitute any two sects of the 1930's. The forms of political opposition remain the same, even though the substance changes.

Today in the progressive movement we have the same theological quarrels that helped to discourage Yeats. They exist on a larger scale and are likely to have a more disastrous effect. Already I notice that many writers are drawing back—either into an ultra-radical idleness or else into an assortment of mysticisms, cynicisms and revolutions of the pure word. If the process is carried farther, it will be a bad thing for the American progressive movement, which can use talent or enthusiasm from any source. It will be still worse for the writers who retreat.

I suggest that we call a truce while there is still time. Let's forget these quarrels about the international communist movement which are so convenient for the international fascist movement. Let's write books for a change, and argue about them, and praise the books by other people that are being neglected. Writers are specialists in words, feelings, sensations, and not in abstract theories. Why not leave the metaphysics of politics to the political metaphysicians and work together for the human aims that most of us share?

MALCOLM COWLEY

Capitalism in the Doldrums

Full Recovery or Stagnation? by Alvin H. Hansen. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 350 pages. $3.50.

THE PROBLEM OF BUSINESS CYCLES has been with us since the emergence of the modern industrial order. If we are now to be plagued, in addition, with the ugly spectre of secular stagnation, what is still left of capitalist democracy faces a bleak future. In current technical economic literature the two problems are fast becoming almost inextricably intertwined. It is one of the many merits of Professor Hansen's latest work that it squarely tackles both. The book deals not only with the question of cyclical fluctuations but also with the larger problem of full employment of resources (human included) from the long-run point of view. The professional student of economics will recognize it as required reading; but the business man and economics-minded layman will also be well advised not to pass it by, if they have a genuine desire to get at fundamentals. In some places effort will be required by the layman to master the reasoning. The inherently complex and refractory nature of the subject matter precludes its being read on the run. But Dr. Hansen's expository skill achieves the maximum of lucidity compatible with scientific precision.

Fifteen months ago the shaky recovery from the Great Depression in the United States came to an abrupt halt. The ensuing half-year of unprecedentedly violent relapse wiped out the gains of the preceding three years. (Nor was the war scare responsible: that, for good measure, came later.) The new depression, in contrast to its predecessor, actually descended upon the country while it still had on its hands some 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 unemployed—a pretty predicament hardly conforming to textbook norms of conditions traditionally supposed to prevail at the end of a period of "prosperity":

> Had the terrific strain, to which the economic organism had been subjected, set in motion powerful forces making for stagnation? . . . Was private enterprise no longer willing to undertake that assumption of risk without which our economic system cannot function? . . . Is business rapidly developing, in the course of the evolution of large-scale enterprises, corporate price policies of a character that makes the system of free enterprise unworkable? Has the government intervention, made inevitable by the distress incident to vast unemployment, created a hybrid society, half-free and half-regimented, which cannot operate at full employment?

These are some of the questions Professor Hansen sets out to answer. It is a large order; but he accomplishes the task astonishingly well. The wide variety of topics covered makes it a difficult book to review. They range from theoretical analysis of the nature of business cycles to the discussion, against that background, of practical policy relative to the problems of depression, recovery and stagnation. Theoretical analysis and the examination of current practical problems are elegantly blended to their mutual advantage, and both are expounded with a clarity, simplicity and felicity of expression rare in the treatment of such solemn topics. The timeliness of its appearance at the present phase of the business cycle scarcely need be mentioned.

Part I, dealing with current theories of investment, savings and monetary control, consists of a penetrating critique of the most significant recent international literature on the subject. These 120 pages constitute perhaps the best evaluation of contemporary business-cycle theory to be found anywhere in an equally brief compass. A group of chapters follows comprising a discussion of the maintenance of consumer purchasing power. Particularly noteworthy here is the analysis of the monetary aspects of the social-security system and its implications for the preservation of economic stability. The next section is devoted to international matters, including an examination of the world monetary situation and the significance of the Hull trade agreements. (But what would Dr. Hansen think of the outlook for the British trade agreement in face of a pound sterling badly shaken by the international crisis?) The chapter on "The Economic Bases of Peace" is more than ever to the point today—provided that some grains of sanity in international relations still exist in the world. The final section, on "The Economic Outlook," will naturally have a special interest for the business man. It presents a sharply etched picture of what the modern economy is up against in relation to the threefold obstacle to full sustained recovery—deflation, inflation and stagnation—with special chapters devoted to the consequences of reducing governmental ex-

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penditures, pump-priming and various other phases of the situation in which the country finds itself today.

Few persons could be so well qualified as Professor Hansen to write this opportune and penetrating study. The select band of economists to which he belongs, who combine mastery of the technical tools of theoretical analysis and wide contact with practical affairs, is lamentably limited in number. The social implications of the problems treated in this book are, moreover, of the first order of magnitude. Between 1932-33 and 1937-38, employment in Germany rose some 50 percent and production even more rapidly. (In Italy the expansion was only slightly less.) The result was achieved, to be sure, by making guns instead of butter. Still, in glaring contrast to conditions in the United States, Germany's utilization of her physical and human resources is today virtually 100-percent complete. The challenge can be ignored by the Western democracies only at their peril.

ARTHUR D. GAYER

Omnibusing the Attic Bee

The Complete Greek Drama, edited by Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill Jr. New York: Random House. 2 vols. 2,422 pages. $5.

THIS IS an omnibus collection in two big volumes of translations of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes and Menander. It has some value: you get a good deal for five dollars; but though the reviewer was most sympathetic to the project and hoped much from Professors Oates and O'Neill, he has been reluctantly reduced to the conclusion that they have not really done a very good job.

The editors speak of "essential correspondence to the Greek original considered as a whole, plus as close fidelity as possible to the original in specific detail" as their criteria in selecting these translations; but an actual examination of the collection leaves one completely mystified as to the way in which these criteria have been applied. Of these forty-seven translations of plays in verse, thirty are entirely in prose and two are partly in prose. It may be argued that Jebb's prose Sophocles, of which five examples are included here, is for all its pseudo-classical deadness more faithful than the available verse translations; but this principle has obviously not operated in the case of Gilbert Murray's Euripides, of which the editors have included three examples. Furthermore, if the editors feel a preference for the word-by-word transcriptions of prose, why not A. W. Verrall's "Agamemnon," which has, besides, much more of the vigor of the original than the mediocre blank-verse version of E. D. A. Morshead? But the principle itself is reduced to absurdity when we see what a bare and literal rendering can do to the liveliness and fantasy of Aristophanes. Would it not have been possible for the editors to include the verse translations of J. H. Frere and B. B. Rogers, which, though they suffer from Victorian bowdlerization, are distinguished, as compared with these latter, by something of Aristophanic lightness and felicity?

Then again, if you assume that the range of Professors Oates and O'Neill was limited by questions of copyright and expense, you are baffled by the fact that they have ignored such classics which may be had for the taking as Shelley's "Cyclops," Browning's "Alcestis" and Fitzgerald's "Agamemnon." Certainly it is difficult to find versions of the Greek dramatists which are at once poetic and faithful to the texts; but why neglect the few precious renderings which the Greeks have been given in English at the hands of their poetic peers? Would it not even have been very much to the point—assuming that the point is to convey to the reader some notion of the Greek dramas as literature—to have included the fine translations of certain choruses by A. E. Housman and W. B. Yeats and others?

And to add a final cavil, should the editors not have included the "Ichneutai," the satyr play discovered in 1907 and convincingly attributed to Sophocles? It is hardly more fragmentary than these comedies of Menander.

EDMUND WILSON

Behind Advertising Billions

It's an Art, by Helen Woodward. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 415 pages. $2.75.

AFTER SEVERAL YEARS in office, during which time he was attacked more viciously than Roosevelt is today, President Jefferson, who was perhaps a greater advocate of freedom of the press than Colonel McCormick, remarked that he never believed anything he read in the newspapers except the advertisements. No facetiousness was intended. The advertising business has passed through three phases: in its first, in Jefferson's time, advertisement was announcement and information: a cargo of candles had arrived; a slave had escaped; a quantity of boots would be auctioned. The second, or Barnum period, began with quack medicines; it was born in the circus, and the odor of ballyhoo, removed only from labels in 1906, still clings to the business in 1938. The third era has not yet arrived, but it probably will be like the first, dignified announcement and information rather than deception, nonsense, social waste—and at times an anti-social force.

We know the present facts: the annual expenditure of between one and a half billion and two billion dollars; the Federal Trade Commission's report that one-third of advertising is fraudulent; the numerous books exposing bad drugs and foods; the forward march of coöperatives and consumers' unions which consist of people who do not believe it is fun to be fooled. What Helen Woodward has done is to tell the layman, with humor and sometimes with cynicism, the human-interest story behind the billions, the charge of fraud and the growing revolt against advertising.

"It's an Art" is a fascinating book. It is the real inside story. With page one you enter the insider's world, and you remain behind the scenes, watching the development of a product from the moment it is only a glint in its prospective father's eye until the time it has conquered the nation.

Although the greater part of the book tells us amusing and amazing stories about advertising campaigns, there are also considerable revelations about products. Thus we learn, for example, that the five-cent cake of soap is better than expensive brands, that the ten-cent jar of cold cream is better than the advertised three-dollar jar of face cream, that a nickel's worth of alum plus water equals a $2 astringent and that the white of an egg is better than a $5 facial mask. We also learn that a certain cigarette manufacturer (named) boastingly advertised the use of diethylene-glycol

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until such time as this drug (in combination with sulfanilamide) killed seventy-three persons in the South. We also learn that the more religious people, the good believers, are the easiest dupes of the bad medicine men. In fact every page adds something tremendously interesting, either about a product, the psychology of the public or the boys and girls who declare advertising is a social and civilizing force and who privately wonder how a people can be so dumb as to listen to them.

The publishers state that the book "provides a friendly yet piercing analysis of the whole bewildering business." It does just that. My one objection is to the friendliness. Perhaps I am prejudiced. But my own experiences with advertising agencies have been decidedly unfriendly. They produced the belief that the agencies have overstepped advertising, good and bad, and entered into social-economic battlefields, and on the reactionary, semi-fascist side. I found them not only an anti-social force, but right up front "when a formidable fascist movement develops in America," as James Rorty predicted only four years ago.

Mrs. Woodward knows of this. In her chapter on public relations or good-will advertising—good will meaning ill will to labor and liberals—she concludes that ". . . to fight labor unions . . . that is the big, new idea in advertising," and explains how the agencies are encouraging the most reactionary fascist-minded manufacturers of America to attack unions and government.

This is a subject big enough for another book, and I hope Mrs. Woodward will write it. Meanwhile "It's an Art" deserves millions of customers. Everyone ought to read it in self-defense. GEORGE SELDES

Sawdust and Stardust

The Big Show, by Charles Cooke. New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

ALL THE CIRCUS INGREDIENTS—spangles and drum rolls and nerve and press-agent patter—go into this novel. A flimsy little plot goes in also, but need not greatly concern you. For though Mr. Cooke handles his love story with rather an overdose of tenderness, he approaches the show itself with a blend of idolatry and sound understanding. The hero is a nice kid whose idea of heaven is canvas-topped; apart from the fact that his dog is a genius, there is little to distinguish him from any of the thousands of schoolboys absent from classes when the circus hits town. The heroine is a pretty girl with blond hair and a soft spot for snakes. The three of them—boy, dog and girl—make a big splash in small-fry circuses, edge up to the Big Show and finally settle down with a homey, traveling-caravan troupe.

Being a back-stage reporter of long standing, the author rigs up his background with scrupulous accuracy. And his book, besides offering a slow-motion transcript of what you get in the two-twenty seats, is also a study of everything that puts the spectacle across: the months of sweat, the smothered tenseness in the dressing room, the box-office ballyhoo and, especially, the unconscious sadism of the audience. Mr. Cooke is at his best when he describes this audience, satisfying its "wish-fantasies" with acts that thumb a nose at death and gravity; an audience that shudders at the occasional fractured spines—but, after an accident, is more certain than ever to come again. The book also includes a complete cast of performers, from the spotlighted human cannon ball to the former star who hangs on by playing nursemaid to a freak in the sideshow. When better peep-shows of circus life are made, Mr. Cooke will make them. MIRIAM BORGENICHT

The Death of an Order

The Fathers, by Allen Tate. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

THE QUALITY above all others which has hitherto been evident in Allen Tate's writing is intensity. It is not surprising that in "The Fathers," his first novel, the characters should convey the impression that they are living in a state of uncommon tension. The prose is straightforward and, sentence by sentence, of the utmost simplicity. Yet the air of the narrative is charged, and behind the words—behind the imaginary narrator, who is rather a simple fellow—we are aware of a mind sharp and intense, clear as to its own situation, yet so caught in difficulties that it seems devious; secure in its own courage and yet in the midst of combat never ignorant of the imminence of defeat. The book is not the work of a native novelist, though it is as much so as, say, "The Scarlet Letter," since the characters, however obscure the motives of their violence, are nevertheless solid in substance. And yet, "The Fathers" is, like Hawthorne's romance, an allegory of good and evil. A lot of water and blood has flowed since Hawthorne's day and it is significant that good and evil are now considered in social terms. The problem of "The Fathers" is what constitutes a good society and what part the individual, by his own nature made rebellious to the claims of society, may be expected to play in it.

It may be said that this is not new. Since the novel has been the novel, since, in fact, "The Princess of Clèves," nothing has been seen so often in its pages as the single person pitted against social laws, to be struck down, or confined. But what is new in "The Fathers" is that one man gets away with it. It is the society that is destroyed.

George Posey is the individual and the society that of the Buchans, who are Virginia aristocrats of the several generations extant in the year 1860. Posey shares the same past as those around him; he does not, as Virginians do, regard it as the present. He knows no laws stronger than his own nature; consequently, in 1860, he contains within himself the whole conduct of the future. Nothing confines him, not even his marriage into a circle whose every movement is made in accord with a code. The Buchans have no sense of being restrained; brought up in a school of custom, they conceive that by acting so as to save their own honor and dignity they will also, so far as it is in them, serve the state. And they can do no more. Major Buchan is "a true gentleman, disinterested and honorable." Only the confusion of their youth makes his sons any less sure in their decorum. George Posey disrupts them all. We are asked to regard how far this conflict—which may stand for any personal problem—will be influenced by the coming of general catastrophe. Mr. Tate has found—and I should say correctly—that the only effect of war on it will be to hasten the out-

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come. The Buchans are already consigned to oblivion. The Northern armies will only finish what George Posey has begun. For the Major's son-in-law is the American that was to be against a Virginia already of the past.

Mr. Tate does not sentimentalize his Virginians; he neither flatters nor blames their betrayer. He is caught here, as he has always been, between his dispassionate approval of a society which he believes to be as good as any ever known on this continent and his passionate disappointment in the limitations of the sort of men it produced. Posey fascinates him. He is attracted by the man's unscrupulous energy, by his air of accomplishment. Yet he sees that everything George Posey does is damnable. He knows that he will sell Yellow Jim down the river with no thought that the Negro, who is his own half-brother, is anything more than liquid capital. Indeed the catastrophe of the book is precipitated when what all the characters, however they deny it, have known as a commodity returns to let them know that he, too, is a man. Mr. Tate is not unaware of the conflict in which he is involved. Because he is a poet and because it is as clear in his mind as it is confused in his emotions, he has created out of it, first in his poetry, and now in his prose, a dramatic irony, which for intensity is scarcely to be surpassed among his contemporaries.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

Flight from Freedom

Mary Shelley: A Biography, by R. Glynn Grylls. New York: The Oxford University Press. 362 pages. $7.50.

THERE ARE two ranges of scholarship: one that rummages dusty shelves for forgotten manuscripts and delves for hidden facts in unpublished records, and a harder achievement that crystallizes all such discoveries in a pattern of significant revelation. Only a small number rise to this loftier flight. And so, if some few, like Professor Lowes in "The Road to Xanadu," soar up and kindle their findings into light, we may not reasonably complain that Miss Grylls's "Mary Shelley" remains among the earthbound, merely accumulating data for some creative scholar to use. She has written a book which no one will read with pleasure and in which few will perceive much insight. But she has been allowed to use materials not available to students since the Marshall biography in 1889, and her volume is loaded with things never published before. They include numerous quotations from Mary Shelley's Journals, letters to her from Allegra, Mrs. Hoppner, Mrs. Gisborne, Coleridge, Trelawny and Hogg, and letters from her to Trelawny, Claire Clairmont, Byron and Tom Moore. These make a feast rich with rewards to any student of Shelley and indispensable to any student of Mary Shelley.

It is deplorable, however, that Miss Grylls has done everything possible to boil both flavor and sustenance out of these materials and reduce them to the flatness of the medium in which they are served. First, there is the organization, an involved and confusing narrative, plus five appendices running to sixty pages more, plus even then a chronology. The last is probably an uneasy gesture to repair the structural defects of a plan that from the death of Shelley on begins weaving back and forth, carrying to the end Mary's relations with Hogg and Jane Williams, then returning again and doing the same with Moore, with Trelawny, and finally with Claire. Second, although it can hardly be said that any of the characters are vividly handled, there are so many pages entirely filled by Godwin, Shelley and various others that Mary Shelley becomes a vague supernumerary in her own biography. And the outlines that do emerge fail to confirm Miss Grylls's claims for her either as a person of individuality or as an intelligence.

Her facts rather reveal Mary Shelley as a striking illustration of the damage an unconventional education can do to a conventional person. During her girlhood, brought up on the libertarian aphorisms and anarchistic dogmas of "Political Justice," she had small conception of how far the Godwinian environment deviated from the norm. When Hogg made love to her, after she had joined her life to Shelley's, she pondered with a naïve, literal-minded conventionality if she ought not to yield—not to passion, but to the abstract principle of free love. The ostracism and exile entailed by her marriage to Shelley brought home to her the force of social disapproval, and although she remained loyal to him and to his memory, her later career was a struggle of return to conventional respectability. Turning her back on the tradition of mother, father and husband, she repudiated the Radicals as "rude, envious and insolent," "violent without any sense of Justice." Even Miss Grylls alleges little artistry or originality for her novels. Shelley's son she gave as conventional an upbringing as she possibly could: "For heaven's sake, let him learn to think like everyone else!" was her rumored outcry. She found her way in the end into the haven of suburban Victorianism, and there anchored, making with relics a pious memory out of the flaming and glorious rebel she had loved.

EDGAR JOHNSON

New Books: A Reader's List

THE RISE OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION, by Charles Seignobos (Knopf, $4.50). One of the best existing surveys, by the most prominent living French historian. The emphasis is on the history of institutions and civilizations. Not only contains a clear statement of the latest results of historical research, but also—what is rare in books of this type—indicates the points that still are obscure or controversial, the gaps in our knowledge of the past.

PUBLIC PLUNDER, by David Loth (Carrick and Evans, $3). A history of American government seen from the angle of "graft"—a very illuminating point of view when one remembers land speculation, the railroad subsidies, the Grant and Harding administrations and the long record of Tammany Hall. Told with intelligence and wit; concludes that the New Deal's one real claim to being "revolutionary" is that the graft now goes to millions instead of to a few hundred.

THE HOWARD UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, Vol. I, No. 1 (Howard University, price not stated). A mimeographed volume containing two essays of real interest to students of Negro history. The first is "Africa and the Rise of Capitalism," by Wilson E. Williams (with notes that serve as a bibliography of the slave trade); the second is "Negro Disfranchisement in Virginia," by Robert E. Martin.

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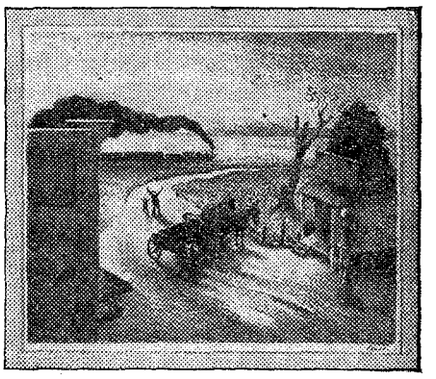

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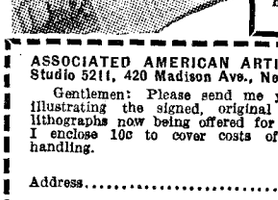

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EUROPE AND THE CZECHS, by S. Grant Duff (Penguin, sixpence). An intelligent analysis of the history and strategic importance of Czechoslovakia, written before the recent dismemberment of the country, but still very important for a clear understanding of current news. The British author has no sympathy for British policy.

GUNS OR BUTTER, by R. H. Bruce Lockhart (Little, Brown, $3). The "British Agent" revisits Europe to indulge his love of wandering, explore conditions in the "gun" and the "butter" countries and learn about the prestige of England on the Continent. Mr. Lockhart is an experienced observer who knows a lot of important people. But when you find him saying that "the British government still regards propaganda, perhaps not unnaturally, as something rather shameful, as something akin to secret service," you begin to suspect that the nostalgia he apparently leaves home to cultivate has got the best of fact.

ABOUT PETROLEUM, by J. G. Crowther (Oxford, $2.25). Definitely the best short general account of a major natural resource available in English. Sound information, well organized and lucidly presented, on the scientific, technical and economic background of what Louis Fischer has called "oil imperialism." Many helpful illustrations.

OUR COMMON AILMENT: Constipation, Its Cause and Cure, by Harold Aaron (Dodge, $1.50). Sponsored by the Consumers' Union, this book is primarily an exposé of fads and fallacies in the treatment of constipation, especially those relating to popular—and worthless—"laxatives." Good for rank-and-file victims of stomach trouble, and of cheap panaceas: serious cases, warns Dr. Aaron, must get expert medical attention.

PATTERNS OF SURVIVAL: An Anatomy of Life, by John Hodgdon Bradley (Macmillan, $2.25). Pleasant reading for those who like to believe that "the ways of Nature are not invariably opposed to the ethical ideals of humanity." Dr. Bradley sees the facts of evolution as leading to the conscious promotion by the human species of social patterns that will really survive.

SON OF THE PEOPLE, by Maurice Thorez (International, $2). The autobiography of the leader of the Communist Party of France, told simply and linked at every point with the development of the working class and its political parties. Particular emphasis, of course, upon the Popular Front, its achievements and its shortcomings. Fine appendix on French foreign policy and on the cultural awakening of the French masses under the Popular Front.

SON OF OLD MAN HAT: A Navajo Autobiography, recorded by Walter Dyk (Harcourt, Brace, $3.50). The first twenty years of a Navajo Indian, member of the Bitahni clan. A serious anthropological study that reads like a combination of "Tobacco Road" with two parts of "Studs Lonigan."

TURBULENT YEARS, by Isaac F. Marcosson (Dodd, Mead, $3.50). An interpretation of world history from 1914 to 1938, highlighted by interviews with spectacular figures in politics and finance. Glamor journalism, not quite up to the tempo or events of the last few weeks.

THE SAGA OF FRANK DOVER, by Johannes Buchholtz (Putnam, $2.75). A long and pleasant naturalistic novel by an important Danish novelist. Full of sea adventures, the Boer War, prison life and the record of one passionate love experience, unified and made more appealing by the simplicity and magnanimity of the hero.

SPELLA HO, by H. E. Bates (Little, Brown, $2.50). About an Englishman who goes from illiterate coal stoker to great industrialist, acquiring en route a staggering fortune, the contempt of his wife and the sullen hate of the community. An unusually vigorous record of how shrilly, forcibly and potently money can speak.

THE NOISE OF THEIR WINGS, by MacKinlay Kantor (Coward-McCann, $2.50). Ornithology and mystery nicely blended in this tale of a futile attempt to revive the race of passenger pigeons in America. Written with a kind of eerie intensity, tuned to sound all the melodrama in an unconventional theme.

LAST PORT OF CALL, by Heinrich Hauser (Stackpole, $2.50). A well written sea novel, about a long voyage in one of the last commercial clippers. The hero, a German intellectual fleeing from the psychosis of war-threatened Europe, signs as the sole passenger; the captain is a true Viking who, when he learns that the ship is to be sold for junk, runs her aground and is killed by falling masts. Plenty of adventure; a good example, too, of what can be said and what cannot be said in a Nazi novel.

WAIT UNTIL SPRING, BANDINI, by John Fante (Stackpole, $2.50). A first novel about Svevo Bandini, his "white saint" of a wife, Maria, and their three sons trying to fit their Italian inheritance into the pattern of a little Colorado town. This is a sad story told with the sureness of autobiography, and in a smooth prose that almost never gets in its author's way.

A Correction

Through an oversight, two issues of The New Republic (October 5 and October 12) were both numbered 1244. To effect a correction, we are omitting No. 1248 and numbering the current issue 1249.—THE EDITORS

Contributors

GEORGE SELDES, the author of, among other books, "The Vatican—Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," a choice of the Catholic Book Club, has a new book, "Lords of the Press," which will be published in November by Julian Messner.

JOHN STRACHEY, one of the leading Marxist spokesmen to the middle classes of Britain and America, is the author of "The Coming Struggle for Power," "The Menace of Fascism" and "The Theory and Practice of Socialism." His latest book, "Hope in America," has just been published by Modern Age.

GENEVIEVE TABOUIS, one of the most famous of European political correspondents, is on the staff of the Paris daily, L'Oeuvre.

ARTHUR D. GAYER, professor of Economics at Barnard College, Columbia University, is the author of several books on monetary problems, public works and economic stabilization. His latest book, "The Sugar Economy of Puerto Rico," has just been published.

MIRIAM BORGENICHT does free-lance book reviewing in New York City.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP is the author of two books of verse, "Minute Particulars" and "Now with His Love," and a novel, "Act of Darkness."

EDGAR JOHNSON, the author of "One Mighty Torrent: The Drama of Biography" and "The Praying Mantis," lectures on satire and esthetics at the New School for Social Research.

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